Studies in the SOCIETY AND ADMINISTRATION of ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA

Vol. I : SOCIETY

By
D. C. SIRCAR

FIRMA K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY
Calcutta 1967

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PREFACE

A few years ago, I published a volume entitled *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India* incorporating in it most of my papers on historical geography previously appearing in various periodicals. In spite of its many defects, the publication was favourably received by the students of the subject, and I was requested to publish similar volumes of my studies in the other aspects of Indian history and culture. This encouragement induced me to collect my papers on numismatics in another volume under the title *Studies in Indian Coins* which is just coming out of the press. The third in this series is the present volume in which I was originally inclined to include most of my papers on the social life and administration in ancient and medieval India. The grouping of the two subjects was suggested by the fact that a few articles could be placed under both Society and Administration. Unfortunately, owing to certain unpleasant experiences, the earlier intention had to be given up, and the collection of some of my papers on social life only is now placed in the hands of the students of the early history of our country.

The papers included in the volume appeared, during the past three decades or so, in different periodicals to whose authorities my sincere thanks are due.

The plan of the present work is the same as that followed in the other two volumes referred to above. Sometimes two or more papers have been clubbed together for the facility of presentation. Thus the material gathered from about thirty papers has been put up here in the form of thirteen Chapters. There have of course been some omissions, the most notable amongst them being the problems of the origin of the Rajputs, the Guhila claim of solar origin and the Brahma-Kṣatriya and Brahma-Vaiśya which have been incorporated in my work entitled *The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā*, Calcutta, 1965.

The sources of the various Chapters in the volume are indicated below.

I.—*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Letters, Calcutta, Vol. XVIII, 1952, pp. 171-78 ; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, Vol. XXXVI, 1960, pp. 196-200 ; *Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi, Vol. XXIX, 1951-1952, pp. 50-54 ; *Viśva-Bhāratī Patrikā* (Bengali), Calcutta, Vol. XXI, B. S. 1371, pp. 131-34.

II.—*Man in India*, Ranchi and Calcutta, 1955, pp. 31-38.

III.—*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 4th Series, Vol. IV, 1962, pp. 49-54 ; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVI, 1965-1966, pp. 275 ff.

IV.—*Journal of Indian History*, formerly from Madras and now from Trivandrum, Vol. XIV, 1935, pp. 34-38.

V.—*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXII, 1957-1958, pp. 46ff. ; Vol. XXXIV, 1961-1962, pp. 141-46.

VI.—*Vaiśālī Abhinandana·Grantha* (*Homage to Vaiśālī*), edited by Mathur and Mishra, 1948, pp. 72-74 ; *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Lucknow, Vol. XVIII, 1945, pp. 148-61.

VII.—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, 1940, pp. 560-66 ; *Studies in Education and Culture* (D. G. Pavate Presentation Volume), edited by G. S. Halappa, Dharwar, 1959, pp. 346-51 ; cf. *J. N. Banerjea Volume*, Calcutta, 1960, pp. 211-19.

VIII.—*Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Bombay, Vol. VI, 1945, pp. 237-40 ; Vol. VIII, 1947, pp. 102f.

IX.—*Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. X, 1949, pp. 280-84 ; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXVIII, 1952, pp. 342-49.

X.—*Abhedānanda Academy Annual*, Calcutta, Vol. IV, 1964, pp. 15-16 ; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVII, 1967-1968, pp. 185 ff. ; *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1966, pp. 51f.

XI.— *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXV, 1963-1964, pp. 101-02; *Man in India*, Vol. XLVI, 1966, pp. 74-80,

XII.— *Journal of Indian History*, Vol, XX, 1941, pp. 105-10; *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Annamalainagar, 1945, pp. 48-52; *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Rajahmundry, Vol. XIX, 1948-49, pp. 203-07; *Śatābdakaumudī* (Nagpur Museum Centenary Volume), 1964, p. 131; *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XVIII, 1942, pp. 87-91.

XIII.—*Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. XV, 1954, pp. 5-27; cf. *Great Women of India*, edited by Madhavananda and Majumdar, Almora, 1953, pp. 285-97.

I am painfully conscious of the fact that, in spite of my best efforts, I have failed to make the volume free from errors and blemishes. For these, I crave the indulgence of sympathetic readers and request them to be kind enough to draw my attention to the defects they may notice in the work. The Index of the volume has been prepared by Dr. Dipak Ranjan Das, Lecturer in Ancient Indian and World-History, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, and I am extremely thankful to him.

If the volume proves to be of any use to the students of early Indian history, I shall consider my labours sufficiently rewarded.

645, New Alipore, Calcutta-53,
June 15, 1967.

D. C. SIRCAR

CHAPTER I

ARYANISM IN BENGAL

I

There is some evidence that helps us in tracing the probable course of the penetration of Aryanism in Bengal (including modern West Bengal and East Pakistan),[1] although so far the subject has not been satisfactorily treated anywhere.[2]

The earliest easternmost Aryan settlement was the country of Videha or Mithilā (modern North Bihar),[3] from where Aryan culture gradually spread over the adjoining countries of Vāsudeva of Puṇḍra (North Bengal) and of Jarāsandha of Magadha (South Bihar) as well as, through Puṇḍra over the land of Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam).[4] The name of *Prāgjyotiṣa* possibly derived from *prāg-jyotis*, i.e. 'the early light' or dawn, seems to indicate the easterly course of the expansion of Aryanism from North Bihar.

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[1] See Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 500.

[2] Cf. *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I pp. 293ff. ; S. Sen, *Bāṅgālā Sāhityer Itihās*, Vol. I, second., Chapters 1-II ; etc. See also Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, *Sāhitya Granthāvali*, Vasumatī ed., Vol. II, pp. 140-46.

[3] Cf. the story of Videgha (older form of *Videha*) Māthava carrying the sacred fire from the Sarasvatī towards the east in the land of Videha as stated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (about the eighth century B. C.). See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 122.

[4] These three names entered into the early traditions of the *Mahābhārata* (II.16-23, 29 ; cf. I 186 ; II. 10 ; XIV. 75-76) pointing to the semi-Aryanized condition of those countries.

There is evidence to show that practically the whole of Bengal formed a part of the empire of the Nandas and Mauryas of Pāṭaliputra (near modern Patna in ancient Magadha), who ruled from the beginning of the fourth to that of the second century B.C. These emperors of Pāṭaliputra are described by ancient Greek writers as the lords of the Prasii (i.e. the *Prācyas* indicating the people of Bihar and probably of North Bengal) and the Gangaridae (i.e. the people of South and South-East Bengal deriving their name from that of their metropolis, the city of Gaṅgā at the junction of the Ganges and the sea).[1] The progress of Aryanism in Bengal thus seems to have been accelerated from the beginning of the fourth century B.C., although Magadha and Aṅga in South and East Bihar must have considerably advanced in this direction in the age of the Bimbisarians and Śaiśunāgas in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.

In this connection, it is necessary to note the evidence of Aryan literature on the subject. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 18) of about the seventh century B.C. mentions the Puṇḍra people of North Bengal as Dasyus or non-Aryans, while the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (II. 1. 1) mentions the Vaṅgas and Vagadhas (Magadhas) apparently as non-Aryan people.[2]

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[1] Cf. Sircar, 'The City of Gaṅgā in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Bombay, 1947 pp. 91-98. The separate mention of the Gangaridae from the Prācyas, in spite of their being an eastern people, may point to the cultural difference, based on the different degrees of Aryanization, between the peoples of South and South-East Bengal and those of North Bengal and South Bihar. The Gangaridae of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy's *Geography* lived about the lower courses of the river Ganges where exactly Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* places Vaṅgas. There is no doubt that the two are identical. See my *Stud Geog. Anc. Med. Ind*, pp. 172 ff.

[2] Cf. *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 7-8. The *Brāhmaṇa* has : *ete='ndhrāḥ Puṇḍrāḥ Śabarāḥ Pulindā Mūtibā ity=*

This at least shows that the peoples of Puṇḍra, Magadha and Vaṅga came into contact with the Aryans as early as the seventh century B.C., although they had not yet been Aryanized to any appreciable extent. But the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* (1. 1. 25-31) of about the sixth-fifth century B.C. regards the people of Aṅga and Magadha as having some Aryan blood i.e. as partially Aryanized (*saṅkīrṇa-yoni*), but those of Puṇḍra, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga (Orissa side) as outside the pale of Vedic culture, so that it prescribes expiatory rites for the purification of Aryans visiting those countries.[1] This points to considerable Aryanization of South and East Bihar, but only Aryan contact with Bengal and Orissa. A well-known verse,[2] apparently referring to a slightly later date, linked Vaṅga and Kaliṅga with Aṅga and allowed visits of the Aryans in those countries for purposes of pilgrimage only. This no doubt shows that holy places like Gaṅgāsāgara in South Bengal and the Vaitaraṇī valley in Orissa were often frequented by the Aryans even before considerable Aryanization of Bengal and Orissa.[3]

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udantyā bahavo bhavanti Vaiśvāmitrā Dasyūnāṁ bhūyiṣṭhāḥ, while the *Āraṇyaka* gives *Vayāṁsi Vaṅgā Vagadhāś=Cerapādāḥ*:

[1] Cf. *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp 73-74. The *Dharmasūtra* says: *Avantayo='ṅga-Magadhāḥ Surāṣṭrā Dakṣiṇā-pathāḥ* | *Upāvṛt-Sindhu-Sauvirā ete saṅkirṇa-yonayaḥ* ‖ *Āraṭṭān=Puṇḍrān=Sauvirān = Vaṅgān = Kaliṅgān=Prāṇūnān=iti ca gatvā punastomena yajeta sarvapṛṣṭhayā vā* | *ath=āpy=udāharanti* | *padbhyāṁ sa kurute pāpaṁ yaḥ Kaliṅgān=prapadyate* | *ṛṣayo niṣkṛtiṁ tasya prāhur=vaiśvānaraṁ haviḥ* ‖

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 74: *Aṅga-Vaṅga-Kaliṅgeṣu Saurāṣṭra-Magadheṣu ca* | *tirtha-yātrāṁ vinā gacchan=punaḥ-saṁskārām=arhati* ‖

[3] Cf. the Tirtha-yātrā section of the Vana-parvan of the *Mahābhārata* (III. 85. 1 ff.): *Atha Sandhyāṁ samāsādya Savedyaṁ tirtham=uttamam upaspṛśya naro vidyāṁ labhate n=ātra saṁśayaḥ* ‖ *Rāmasya ca prabhāvena tirthaṁ rājan kṛtaṁ purā* | *tal=Lauhityaṁ samāsādya vindyād—bahusuvarṇakam* ‖ *Karatoyāṁ samāsādya trirātr-opoṣito naraḥ* | *aśvamedham=avāpnoti Prajāpati*

From what has been said above, it will appear that Aryanism spread in Bengal first in Puṇḍra (North Bengal) and next through that country, to Vaṅga (South and South-East Bengal). That the above areas of Bengal already became strongholds of Aryan culture in the third and second centuries B.C. is also suggested by epigraphic evidence. The earliest epigraphic record so far discovered in Bengal comes from Mahāsthān (ancient Puṇḍranagara in the present Bogra District of North Bangal in East Pakistan). The inscription is written in the Prakrit language and in the Brāhmī alphabet of about the third century B.C. The only other pre-Christian epigraph from Bengal is the Siluā (Noakhali District of East Bengal in East Pakistan) image inscription[2] which is apparently in prakrit and is written in the Brāhmī script assignable to the second century B.C. The popularity of Prakrit exhibited by the above inscriptions no doubt points to the considerably strong hold of Aryanism in the northern and eastern parts of Bengal in the centuries before Christ.

What is suggested by the discovery of inscriptions seems to be supported by that of old coins. R. D. Banerji's *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, Vol. I (2nd ed.), pp. 32-33, 38-39, gives an account of the discoveries of pre-Gupta coins in different parts of Bengal. Amongst the punch-marked, cast and Kuṣāṇa coins found in Bengal, he assigns the discovery of only one base-metal coin of Kuṣāṇa Vāsudeva II or III (2nd or 3rd century A.D.) to the Murshidabad District in upper South-West Bengal and that of the rest to North and

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kṛto vidhiḥ ‖ *Gaṅgāyās=tatra rājendra Sāgarasya ca saṅgame* | *aśvamedhaṁ daśa-guṇaṁ pravadanti maniṣiṇaḥ* ‖ *Gaṅgāyās=tv=aparaṁ pāraṁ prāpya yaḥ snāti manavaḥ* | *trirātram=uṣito rājan =sarvapāpaih pramucyata= Tato Vaitaraṇīṁ gacchet=sarvapāp-pramocanim* | *Virajaṁ tirthaṁ=āsādya virājati yathā śaśi* ‖

[1] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 82-83.

[2] *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A.R., 1930-34, Part I, pp. 38-39.

South Bengal. To Banerji's list may now be added the find of Kuṣāṇa coins at Paharpur (Rajshahi District) and other areas of North Bengal[1] and of punch-marked coins at Bangarh (Dinajpur District)[2] and a locality on the right bank of the Brahmaputra in the Manohardi Police Station, about twenty miles from Dacca.[3]

Recent explorations and excavations conducted in South Bengal at places like Chandraketugarh (Berachampa) and Harinarayanpur in the 24-Parganas District and Tamluk, Tilda and Panna in the Midnapur District have yielded a large number of antiquities. These include uninscribed cast copper coins, silver punch-marked coins, Gupta gold coins, terracotta plaques and figurines of the Śuṅga, Kuṣāṇa and Gupta ages, terracotta seals bearing pre-Christian writing, temples of the Gupta period, Rouletted Ware and Northern Black Polished Pottery.[4] A hoard of punch-marked coins, which appear to be earlier than the age of the Kuṣāṇas, has been discovered at Tilorā near Lohāpur in the Birbhum District.[5]

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[1] Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol. XXVIII, p. 127; *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XIII, p. 107.

[2] For punch-marked coins of silver and copper from Bangarh, see K.G. Goswami, *Excavations at Bangarh* pp. 30-32.

[3] It is said that this big hoard was found about 1934-35 in a metal casket lying on the earth and that the majority of the coins were lost. S. M. Taifur of Dacca succeeded in collecting only about a hundred coins, of which he kept a few for himself and distributed the rest among the Dacca Museum, Dacca University, Asiatic Society of Calcutta, etc. The coins in the Dacca Museum's share are believed to be of silver.

[4] Cf. *Indian Archaeology*, 1954-55, pp. 19-50 23; 1955.56, pp. 61-62; 1956-57, pp. 29-30 (cf.pp. 73-74); 1957-58, pp. 51 ff., 72; 1958-59, pp. 55-56, 76-78; 1959-60, pp. 50 ff., 77-78.

[5] Some coins of this hoard have been secured by the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of West Bengal.

Whether Aryan culture had a similarly strong hold in the Suhma or Rāḍha country in upper South-West Bengal in pre-Christian times cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. It will, however, be seen that, unlike Puṇḍra and Vaṅga, Rāḍha or Suhma is not mentioned by name in any very old work of Aryan literature. The earliest epigraph found in South-West Bengal is the Susuniā (Bankura District) rock inscription[1] in Sanskrit which superseded Prakrit in the field of North Indian epigraphy by the end of the third century A.D., although the former lingered on in South India for another century.[2] The record is written in the Late Brāhmī alphabet which is assignable to the fourth century A.D. The above fact by itself may not prove anything in regard to the date of the establishment of Aryan hold in Rāḍha. But, in any case, epigraphic evidence proves that both North and East Bengal adopted the Aryan language long before the Christian era; but no such evidence has as yet come to light in regard to upper South-West Bengal. It appears almost certain that Rāḍha was Aryanized later than North Bengal, although Aryan culture seems to have entered South-West Bengal not only from the north (i.e.,from Puṇḍra) but also from the east and west, i.e., from Vaṅga and Aṅga-Magadha. This is possibly suggested by what we learn about the cultural backwardness of Rāḍha from the Jain canonical work *Āyārangasutta* (about the third century B.C.).[1]

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[1] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 341-42. King Candravarman of this record has been identified with the king of that name mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription as a contemporary of Samudragupta who flourished about the second and third quarters of the fourth century. Candravarman and his father Siṁhavarman had their capital at Puṣkaraṇā (modern Pokharnā on the Dāmodar) and ruled over the Dāmodar valley apparently comprising the southern part of Rāḍha. It is possible to think that the southern part of Rāḍha or Suhma was Aryanized earlier than the northern part of that country. Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (4th or 5th century A.D.) mentions the Suhma people.

[2] Cf. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 166.

The *Āyārangasutta* (1.8.3) describes the land of the Rāḍhas as a pathless country inhabited by a rude folk. The expression 'pathless' seems to suggest that the country was covered to a large extent by jungles. The wild character of the people is illustrated by the story of the travels of Mahāvīra, founder of Jainism, in Vajrabhūmi and Suhmabhūmi in Rāḍha. It is said that the monk was attacked by the Rāḍhas and, while striking the helpless monk, they cried *cucchu* to encourage their dogs to bite him. The Jain author laments that it was difficult to travel in the Rāḍha country.[2] Of course it is doubtful whether Mahāvīra, who flourished in the sixth century B.C., actually travelled in Rāḍha. It is more probable that the treatment received from the people of that country by the Jain monks at a subsequent period has been reflected in the above story. The story of Vijaya recorded in the Ceylonese chronicles seems to suggest that

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[1] Cf. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol.II, p. 434 and note 2. The Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela suggests that Jainism had a foothold in Kaliṅga in coastal Orissa during the age of the Nandas in the fourth century B C. It seems that Jainism passed to Kaliṅga through the lands of the Vaṅgas (Gāngaridae) who occupied the areas washed by the mouths of the Ganges and of the Utkalas who were their western neighbours. The river Kapiśā (Ptolemy's Cambyson, modern Kaśāi running through the Midnapur District) was the boundary line between the Vaṅga and Utkala countries, and Tāmralipti (modern Tamluk in the Midnapur District) originally formed a part of Vaṅga. The Utkalas of the Balasore region are not mentioned in the oldest works possibly because they were less advanced in civilization than their north-eastern neighbours, the Vaṅgas, and south-western neighbours, the Kaliṅgas. They may have also been regarded originally as a branch of the Kaliṅga people

[2] *History of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 36.

Rāḍha was still covered in jungles, inhabited by beasts and primitive totemistic peoples, when Vaṅga was a flourishing and civilized kingdom and that it was reclaimed from that state by the Vaṅga people. The story says how the lion-king of the forest of Rāḍha carried away and married a daughter of the king of Vaṅga and how a son born of this union founded villages around the 'forest stretching a hundred *Yojanas*' in Rāḍha. The country of Rāḍha is located by this tradition on a caravan road from Vaṅga to Magadha. The Ceylonese chronicles would place the said reclamation of Rāḍha by the grandson of the king of Vaṅga in the second half of the sixth century B.C.[1] Thus the evidence of the *Ayāraṅgasutta* regarding the nature of the land and the people of Rāḍha seems to be supported by that of the Ceylonese tradition. It is possible to think that the name Rāḍha is essentially the same as the Bengali word *rād*, 'quarrel'.

The Suhmas are probably mentioned in the Buddhist canonical work *Saṁyuttanikāya* (almost of the same age as the Jain *Āyāraṅgasutta*) and the introduction to the *Telapatta Jātaka*, which speak of a visit of the Buddha to a place called Desaka or Setaka in that country,[2] although it is doubtful whether any such visit was actually paid. The field of the Buddha's activities is known to have been Bihar and the eastern part of U.P., though, in later times, numerous stories about the Buddha's sojourn in distant lands (such as Ceylon, Khotan, etc.) were fabricated. Whatever may be the truth of the tradition, Jain and Buddhist literature of about the third century B.C. seems to suggest that monks, possibly both Aryan and non-Aryan, often visited the Rāḍha or Suhma country in upper South-West Bengal. The

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[1] Vide *Mahāvaṁsa*, Chapter VI ; Geiger's translation, pp. 51-54.

[2] Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali proper Name*, s. v. *Sumbha*.

Maurya emperor Aśoka (c.272-232 B.C.) is said to have built several Buddhist monasteries (near the city later known as Karṇasuvarṇa) in West Bengal as in other parts of the country.[1]

It is interesting to note in this connection that, in spreading from Bihar into Bengal, Buddhism seems to have followed the same course as Aryanism. While defining the limits of Āryāvarta for the purpose of ordination, the *Vinaya Piṭaka* places its eastern frontier at Kajaṅgala near Rajmahal on the eastern fringe of Bihar. But in the corresponding passage in the Sanskrit *Vinaya* the eastern limit of Āryāvarta is placed in the kingdom of Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal). This has led some scholars to believe that 'Buddhism had probably obtained a footing in North Bengal even before Aśoka's time.'[2] Although the Sanskrit *Vinaya* may not refer to a pre-Aśokan date, it seems from the evidence of the Vinaya text that, in Bengal, the earliest stronghold of Buddhism was the northern part of the country, If it may be believed, with B. M. Barua, that the Ṣaḍvargiya sect of the Buddhists is mentioned in the Mahāsthān inscription of about the third century B.C.,[3] we have possibly another evidence in support of the same suggestion. A king named Śrīgupta is said to have built 'the temple of China' for some Chinese Buddhists near the Mṛgaśikhāvana or Mṛgasthāpana *Stūpa* in Varendrī (later name of Puṇḍra) five hundred years before I-tsing's visit to India in 671-95 A.D., i.e. about the end of the second century A.D.[4] Sometimes this Śrīgupta is identified with *Mahārāja* Gupta who was the progenitor of the imperial Guptas of Magadha and flourished about a century later. In a list of prominent Buddhist countries found in a Nagarjunikonda inscription of the third century A.D., however, Vaṅga alone, and no other tract of Bengal, find mention.[1] This suggests that, at a subsequent period, Vaṅga became a more important centre of Buddhism than Puṇḍra. In this story of the expansion of Buddhism also upper South-West Bengal seems to have played a less important part at least in the early period.

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[1] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol.II, p. 161.

[2] *History of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 411-12.

[3] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 81-82.

[4] Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, p. xv ; *History of Bengal*, p 69.

From about the sixth century A.D.,[2] upper South-West Bengal became one of the greatest centres of Aryan culture in Bengal and in all India. The style of Sanskrit composition, called Gauḍī *rīti* as early as the seventh century A.D., must have flourished at the court of the kings of Gauḍa, who had their capital at Karṇasuvarṇa near modern Murshidabad in West Bengal.

Some writers believe that the chief city of this Gauḍa country in West Bengal has been mentioned as Gauḍapura in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini (about the fifth century B.C.).[3] But the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (6. 2. 99-100) says that, in the country of the Easterners, the last syllable of words prefixed to the word *pura* in *samāsa* has the *udātta* pronunciation, but that the last syllable of the words *ariṣṭa* and *gauḍa* in Ariṣṭapura and Gauḍapura (although the localities did not belong to the land of the Easterners) has likewise the *udātta* pronunciation. This shows that, even it the Eastern Country, known to the grammarian Pāṇini of Gandhāra (modern Rawalpindi-Peshawar region of West Pakistan) included upper South-West Bengal and if that area adopted Aryan language and pronunciation to a considerable extent as early as the fifth century B.C., Gauḍapura mentioned in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* has to be located outside Eastern India.[1] It is well known, moreover, that 'the land of the Easterners, mentioned by the grammarians was not identical with Eastern India.[2] There is thus no evidence that any famous city existed in the 'pathless' region of upper South-West Bengal in the age of Pāṇini.

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[1] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 225.

[2] There is epigraphic evidence to show that the Gauḍas of the above area became famous as a sea-faring people in the fifth and sixth centuries. See *J. A. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 69, note 4; my *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 116.

[3] *History of Bengal*, p. 10.

The mention of the products of such countries as Gauḍa, Vaṅga and Puṇḍra in Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra*[3] does not help us much as the work in its present form cannot be regarded as pre-Christian. As pointed out by us elsewhere,[4] Kauṭilya may have founded a new school of political philosophy in the fourth century B.C.; but the *Arthasāśtra*, although many of its views may be ascribed to Kauṭilya himself, was probably a work of the above school. A post-Christian date for the work, as it now is, is suggested by the mention of geographical names like Nepāla and Kambu (probably the same as Kambuja or Cambodia),[5] which are not expected in any Indian work of a pre-Christian date The earliest mention of Nepāla is to be found in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, which belongs to the middle of the fourth century A. D.[6] Similar is the value of the mention of the Far Eastern territories in the *Arthaśāstra* as well as in Patañjali's *Mahābhāsya*.[7] We have suggested elsewhere[8] that Patañjali lived in the second century B.C., but that the *Mahābhāṣya* which he had composed became modified in the hands of later grammarians of his school. To the arguments in favour of a post-Christian date for the *Mahābhāṣya* in its present form, another point may now be added. The *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, V. 1. 77, exhibits considerable knowledge of the lands beyond the Bay of Bengal, which has to be attributed to a date later than the first century A.D.[1] The reference to Cambodia in the *Arthasāstra* points to a similar late date as suggested above.

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[1] S. Sen, *Bāṅgālā Sāhityer Itihās*, Vol. 1, 2nd edition, p. 4. Cf. I.H.Q., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 123ff,

[2] *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.* ,pp. 209 ff.

[3] See *Arthaśāstra* (Shamasastry's translation, 1929), pp. 82-83, 90.

[4] *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 356, note.

[5] *Arthaśāstra, op. cit.*, p. 82.

[6] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 257.

[7] Cf. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvipa*, part 1, .p 58.

[8] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XV, pp. 633ff.

It is also necessary in this connection to refer to the great position of the Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas in the social life of Bengal today. The prestige enjoyed by the Rāḍhīyas now, however, does not appear to militate against the points raised above. Attention of scholars may be drawn to what we have suggested elsewhere on the occurrence of the name Bṛhac-Caṭṭa in the Faridpur (in Central Bengal now forming a part of East Pakistan) copper-plate inscription[2] dated in the third regnal year of king Dharmāditya who flourished about the middle of the sixth century A.D. : 'Caṭṭa, as suggested by Pargiter, is apparently the same as the modern Caṭṭopādhāya, a cognomen of the Kulīna Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. According to the popular tradition, however, the ancestors of the Kulīna Brāhmaṇas of Bengal came to the country from Kolāñca or Kānyakubja at the invitation of king Ādiśūra in the Śaka year 654 (732 A.D.). As I have elsewhere pointed out, the Maithil Brahmanical *Mūlagrāma* (the place where a family claims to have originally lived ; the same as the Bengali *Gāñi*) Gaṅgaulī is the same as the Bengali Brahmanical (Kulīna) cognomen Gāṅgulī or Gaṅg-opādhyāya (*Proc. Hist. Rec. Com.*, 1942, p. 83). The usual identification of the locality in question with Gāṅgur in the Burdwan

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[1] Cf. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[2] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 355.

District (South-West Bengal) is unwarranted. The place was very probably outside Bengal. These facts appear to show that the social division of high class Bengal Brāhmaṇas into Rāḍhīya and Vārendra and the attempt to locate the 56 Rāḍhīya and 100 Vārendra *Gāñis* respectively in Rāḍha and Varendra (which as a name is not earlier than the age of the Pālas) are unsound. The attempt is apparently connected with the mythical account of the rise of Kulīnism in Bengal. It is to be noted that Kulīnism is also found in Mithilā. There the credit for its introduction is given to a medieval king named Harisiṁha who holds, in the story of the Kulapañjīkāras, the same position as king Ballālasena does in Bengal. But the silence of epigraphic records on this point is worth noticing. That the tradition of Ādiśūra is late is suggested by the reference to the Śaka era which was popular in South India and was popularised in Bengal by the Senas (who hailed from the Karṇāṭa country) in the 11-12th century A.D. There is no truth in the fantastic idea that learned Brāhmaṇas could not be found in East Bengal and that respectable Brāhmaṇa families now living in Eastern and Central Bengal and calling themselves Rāḍhīya all migrated from their original home in Rāḍha. The artificial increase in the number of Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas and the absence of Vaṅgaja Brāhmaṇa may be due to the extraordinary favour extended to the Rāḍhīyas by the kings of the Sena dynasty which was after all a Rāḍhīya family later on ruling from Vikramapura. The existence of Brāhmaṇas in Bengal outside Rāḍha and Varendra in early times is sufficiently proved by epigraphic evidence.'[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 498-500. For references to Brāhmaṇas in Bengal outside Rāḍha and Varendra in pre-Pāla inscriptions, see *ibid*., pp. 351, 355, 358; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIII p. 236 (giving a list of 13 learned Brāhmaṇas of the Tippera region); *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 312-15

In regard to the views quoted above a few further observations may now be made. The utterly unreliable nature of the Ādiśūra legends has been very clearly demonstrated by several writers.[1] It has been pointed out that different genealogies of *Ādiśūra* are supplied by different texts, that no less than six different ceremonies have been named by various authorities, for the performance of which the Brāhmaṇas are said to have been brought by Ādiśūra, and that the date of the event is variously given in different books as ranging between Śaka 654 and 999. There is no evidence of the popularity of the use of the Śaka era in Bengal before the rise of the Senas, and the *Nyāyakandalī* by Śrīdhara, who was an inhabitant of Bhūriśreṣṭha (modern Bhurshut in the Hooghly District) in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha, may have been composed in Śaka 913 or 910 (991 or 988 A.D:) under the patronage of a chief named Pāṇḍudāsa,[2] outside Bengal,[3] in an area where the use of the Śaka era had become popular by the tenth century A.D. We have numerous other instances of Bengali scholars being patronized at the courts of rulers of other parts of India throughout the ancient and medieval periods.[4]

Besides the *Kulapañjikās*, there is no genuine evidence in favour of the existence of an ancient ruler named Ādiśūra

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(giving a list of about 125 Brāhmaṇas of the same region) ; *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 33-41 (giving a list of over 200 learned Brāhmaṇas of the Sylhet region), etc. There is similar evidence regarding the existence of numerous Brāhmaṇa families in the eastern part of Bengal during the age of the Pālas and their contemporaries who flourished before the establishment of Sena power in Bengal. For the settlement of U.P. Brāhmaṇas in ancient Bengal, see below.

[1] See *History of Bengal*, pp. 625-26; Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races*, pp. 162ff. See also below.

[2] *History of Bengal*, p. 313.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 588.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 677ff.

in Bengal, although the existence of a Śūra royal family in ancient Bengal is known. The only Ādiśūra known to the history of Eastern India is mentioned in the *Nyāyakaṇikā* of the maithil scholar Vācaspati Miśra as a contemporary of the author.[1] This Vācaspati composed his *Nyāyasūci* in the year 841 A.D.[2] The historical Ādiśūra of Eastern India thus seems to have ruled over parts of Mithilā and the contiguous portion of North Bengal as a feudatory of the Pālas about the middle of the ninth century A.D. Legends may have grown round his name for his activities in connection with the settlement of certain Brāhmaṇa families hailing from Kolāñca in his dominions. The recently discovered Bangaon plate of Vigrahapāla III (eleventh century) shows how the institution of Kulīnism and the custom of preserving genealogical traditions or *Kulapañjīs* grew up in Mithilā owing to the extraordinary importance attached by the local Maithil Brāhmaṇas to their relationship with the Brāhmaṇas of Kolāñca who often came or were brought to settle in that country.[3] This fact as well as the identification of the Maithil Gaṅgaulī *Mūlagrāma* with the Bengal Gāṅgulī *Gāñi* no doubt lends some colour to the view that the institution of Kulīnism was borrowed, at least partially, by Bengal from Mithilā.[4]

In connection with the mention of the Brahmanical family name Caṭṭa in a Bengal inscription of the sixth century A.D. referred to above, we may now point to an eighth century inscription of Orissa, in which a Brāhmaṇa (possibly) of Bengal) is found to have borne the name Vandya-Devabhadra.[1] It is possible to think that the word *Vandya* in the name of the Brāhmaṇa in question is not unconnected with the growth of the cognomen Vandy-opādhāya in a section of the Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas of the Kulīna class. If these suggestions are acceptable, it will be seen that they offer additional arguments against the reliability of traditions recorded in the *Kulapañjīs* of Bengal.

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[1] *Vaṅgiya Sāhityā Pariṣat Patrikā*, Vol, LVII, p. 68.

[2] Recent attempts to prove that the date should be referred to the Śaka era is absolutely unwarranted. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 69ff; also *J.R.A.S.B., Letters*, Vol. XVII, pp. 30-31, 80. See below.

[3] See below.

[4] Cf. Risley, *People of India*, p. 215; J. K. Mishra, *History of Maithili Literature*, Vol. I, pp. 26ff.

II

The Kolagallu (967 A.D.) and Kuḍatini (971 A.D.) inscriptions were published respectively in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 260 ff., and *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, Part i, p. 43, No.70. Recently G. S. Gai has quoted two stanzas, the first occurring in the Kuḍatini (Bellary District, Mysore) epigraph and the second in both the Kolagallu and Kuḍatini records, in a note on Tarkārī published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXV, No 3, September 1959, pp. 271-73.

Both the inscriptions record the installation of the god Skanda-Kārttikeya by Gadādhara described as a venerable ascetic (*su-tapasvin*) apparently belonging to a Brāhmaṇa family of the Śāṇḍilya *gotra*, who was born at Taḍā-grāma and used to sit only on an iron seat (*loh-āsanin*), and as the crest-jewel of the Gauḍa country or people and the illuminator of the Varendrī country.[1] Thus Gadādhara was an inhabitant of Taḍā-grāma (identified with a village near Dinajpur in North Bengal) situated in Varendrī (portion of North Bengal) forming a part of Gauḍa (western and north-western areas of Bengal). This reminds us of Kullūka's commentary on the *Manusmṛti* describing the commentator who was originally an inhabitant of a locality in Varendrī within Gauḍa.[2]

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[1] *Journ. Or. Res*, Vol. XVIII, p. 48.

The person who composed the Kolagallu and Kuḍatini records of Gadādhara was another man of a family hailing from Varendrī. The first of the two stanzas in the description of this person, which occurs only in the Kuḍatini inscription, runs as follows :

Gaṁgā-pūte sadā-ramye Varendrī-puṇya-maṇḍale ı
durgam-ottara-dig-bhāge grāmaḥ Pāhuniyojane ıı [3]

"There is a village in [the area known as] Pāhuniyojana in the inaccessible northern region in the sacred territory of Varendrī which is purified by the Ganges and is always pleasing." The district of Pāhuniyojana, in which the village in question was situated, thus lay in the northern part of Varendrī. The description of the said part of the territory as *durgama*, i. e. difficult to reach or traverse, reminds us of the fact that the Damodarpur (Phulbari P. S., Dinajpur District) inscription of 543 A. D. describes certain areas of the Koṭivarṣa *viṣaya* (Dinajpur region) in the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* (i.e. Varendrī) as an *araṇya* or forest territory.[4] As the lands mentioned in the Damodarpur plates appear to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Vāyigrāma,[1] *i. e.* modern Baigram near Hili in the Bogra District, the wild tract seems to have covered the present Hili-Balurghat region of North Bengal, now partly in West Bengal and partly in East Pakistan.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 264 :
Loh-āsamī ca Śāṇḍilyas=su-tapasvī Gadādharaḥ (|*)
vidvaj-jan-āśrayo vidvāṁ(dvā)n=Gauḍa-cūḍāmaṇir=guṇī ||
Svarga-vāsa-nimitt-ārthaṁ Taḍā-grām-otbha(dbha)vena tu (|*)
sthāpito divya-mantreṇa Varendry-udyo(ddyo)ta-kāriṇā ||

[2] *Gāuḍe Nandanavāsi-nāmni sujanair=vandye Varendryāṁ kule*
śrīmad=Bhaṭṭa-Divākarasya tanayaḥ Kullūka-bhaṭṭo='bhavat |

[3] *SII*, Vol. IX, Part i, p. 43.

[4] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 336.

The said verse is followed in the Kuḍatini inscription by another stanza which also occurs in the Kolagallu record. The text of this verse runs as follows :

S′rī-Karmāra-kul-āhvaya-dvija-varā-grāmas=tu Tarkārito[2]
niṣkramya krama-nirmmalas=samabhavāt=tasmin=Ṛṣiḥ
=paṇḍitaḥ (।*)
sta(ta)t-putraḥ=prathitaḥ kṣitāv=Ativa(ba)la[3] *s=tasmād*
=abhūda(bhūd)=yas=sutas=
tena śrī-Madhusūdan-ākhya-kavinā śastā praśastiḥ kṛta ॥

The interpretation of the stanza offered by previous writers is defective. As they stand, the first and second sentences in the first half of the verse mean to say that the village in Pāhuniyojana, referred to in the stanza quoted previously, which was the habitation of learned Brāhmaṇas, bore the name Srī-Karmāra-kula (literally 'the illustrious blacksmiths' family or residence') and, after having separated itself from Tarkāri, became pure in course of time and that the learned Ṛṣi was born in the said village. 'Becoming pure in the course of time' would then mean that the stigma of the association with blacksmiths was gradually removed by the settlement of the learned Brāhmaṇas. In that case, the person in question would appear to have been a Brāhmaṇa. But the mention of this person without the name of his *gotra* renders it doubtful that he was a Brāhmaṇa. Moreover, the above interpretation of the verse involves the unnecessary repetition of the word *grāma* in the second stanza. Considering the number of errors in the engraved text, it is therefore not impossible to think that the first foot of the stanza has to be read as *Śrī-Karmāra-kul-āhvayo dvijavara-grāmāt=tu Tarkārito*. In that case, the subject of the verb *samabhavat* (became) in the passage *Tarkārito niṣkramya krama-nirmalas=samabhavat* (became gradually pure after having come out of Tarkāri) would be the family of the blacksmiths and not the village as suggested by the text as it is. If this is accepted, the word *vaṁśaḥ* has to be understood with *śrī-Karmāra-kul-āhvayaḥ* and the passage would then mean '[a family] known as the community of blacksmiths.'[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 325.

[2] This is the reading of the Kolagallu inscription. The printed text of the Kuḍatini inscription has *grāmasya Tatkārito*.

[3] The rest of the stanza is not found in the published text of the Kuḍatini inscription.

The Silimpur inscription[2] describes the village called Bālagrāma, which was situated in the Puṇḍra country (i.e. Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti) and was an ornament of Varendrī, as an off-shoot (*prasūta*) of Tarkāri, which was attached to Śrāvasti, and as having the Sakaṭī [river] intervening between Tarkāri and Bālagrāma, while the Brāhmaṇa village called Vaigrāma in Sāvathi (Śrāvasti), mentioned in the Guakuchi plate[1] of king Indrapāla of Prāgjyotiṣa, is apparently the modern Baigram near Hili. Thus the Hili-Balurghat region is called Śrāvasti in these records and Pāhuniyojana in the Kuḍatini inscription. It appears that a large number of Brāhmaṇas of Śrāvasti in the ancient Kośala country in Madhyadeśa (i. e. the Set-Mahet region in the Gonda and Bahraich Districts of U. P.), especially of Tarkāri in that region, were settled in the Hili-Balurghat area in North Bengal and that these Brāhmaṇas named their new settlements after their old habitations in U. P.[2]

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[1] If such is the case, the composition of the *praśasti* by a person of the blacksmith community of Bengal would be an interesting fact. In this connection, it has to be noted that the poet's family is stated to have become pure gradually after having left their original home in a village dominated by Brāhmaṇas. This may suggest that, after settling elsewhere, the members of the family gave up their hereditary profession. Although it was generally the Brāhmaṇas who acquired proficiency in the Sanskrit language and received honour at the royal courts for their learning, a large number of Sanskrit *praśastis* are known to have been composed by members of the non-Brāhmaṇa communities, especially the Kāyasthas. In Bengal, the Vaidya or physician community was always famous for their Sanskrit learning and produced great poets and Sanskritists like the celebrated Umāpatidhara and Bharatamallika, and there are also some *praśastis* composed by poets belonging to this community. During the rule of the Buddhist kings of East India such as those of the Pāla dynasty, Sanskrit learning does not appear to have been confined to the Brāhmaṇas. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 337, 339, 343 ; R.D. Banerji, *The Pālas of Bengal* (Mem. A.S.B., Vol. V, No. 3), pp. 78, 82.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 290.

It may be pointed out in this connection that Tarkāri, the home of the Brāhmaṇa donee, is located in some records in Madhyadeśa[3] while, according to the Damodarpur inscriptions, there was enough State land of the uncultivated class for disposal in the Hili-Balurghat region.[4] Another fact to which attention may be drawn is that the Brāhmaṇas of a village named Kroḍāñca, Kroḍañji, Kroḍañja, Kolāñca, Kolañca, etc., apparently situated in U.P. and very probably in the Śrāvasti area, were highly respected by the Brāhmaṇas of Mithila in the early medieval period.[5] It is not possible to believe that Maithila Brāhmaṇas could have been so much respectful towards the Brāhmaṇas of North Bengal.

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[1] P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 137.

[2] We may refer in this context' to Pāṭaliputtiram (Pāṭaliputra) in the South Arcot District (*A.R.Ep.*, 1918-19, p. 25), often identified with Cuddalore, which was apparently so named by some people settling there from Pāṭaliputra (near Patna), called a *Bhaṭṭāgrahāra* in early medieval epigraphs (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXXII, pp. 119, 126).

[3] Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 1[illegible]8.

[4] Cf., e.g., *Select Inscriptions*, p. 284, note 10, etc.

[5] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 52-53 ; see below.

Moreover, according to certain traditions, the ancestors of the Kulīna Brāhmaṇas of Bengal hailed from the said locality. The same village called Kroḍañja is stated to have been situated in Śrāvasti in the Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka grant[1] of king Dharmapāla of Prāgjyotiṣa, and it is very probable that this Śrāvasti is identical with the Hili-Balurghat region of North Bengal.[2] Thus several places in the said region appear to have been named after some celebrated Brāhmaṇa villages in the Śrāvasti area of U.P.

III

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The Bangaon plate was issued by the *Paramasaugata* (devout Buddhist) *Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Vigrahapāladeva meditating on (or, favoured by) the feet of his father, Nayapāladeva, from the *jayaskandhāvāra* at Kāñcanapura, which is as yet unknown from any other Pāla grant, on the 28th day probably of the month of Āśvayuja in the 17th regnal year of Vigrahapāla III. The land to be granted was a part, yielding five hundred of the standard coins (called Purāṇa ?),[3] of the locality called

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[1] P.N. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 155 and corrigenda.

[2] There is reference to a Brāhmaṇa village called Karañja in Varendrī in Caturbhuja's *Haricarita* (Banerji, *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, Vol.I, 2nd ed.,p. 199, note 93). But it is difficult to say whether it is the same as Kroḍañca, etc.

[3] The grants of the Senas of Bengal usually refer, in a similar context, to the annual income of the gift land in Purāṇas counted in cowrie-shells (*Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, pp. 63, 74, 87, etc.). The records of the rulers of ancient Assam, however, speak of paddy in the same context (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 78, 99). Thus our inscription may also refer to the annual yield in the standard measure of the principal crop.

Vasukāvarta in the Hodreya *viṣayа* (district) of Tīrabhukti. The record says, in the well-known style of the Pāla grants, that the above mentioned portion of the village of Vasukāvarta was granted in the name of Lord Buddha with the specified privileges (including the right to enjoy the *pratyāyas* such as *bhāga*, *bhoga*, *kara*, *hiraṇya* and others) in accordance with the *bhūmicchidra-nyāya* (i. e., the principle of the rent-free enjoyment of a piece of land by a person who cultivated it for the first time) by the king, for the increase of the merit of himself and his parents, in favour of a Brāmaṇa. Like many other Pāla grants, this one was also made by the king after having taken a ceremonial bath in the waters of the Ganges on the occasion of the Viṣuvat *saṅkrānti*. The donee of the charter was Ghāṇṭūkaśarman who was an inhabitant of Iṭṭāhāka or Iṭuhoka. He was the son of Tuṅga and grandson of Yogasvāmin. The original home of the donee's family is stated to have been Kolāñca. He is described as well-versed in *mīmāṁsā*, *vyākaraṇa* and *tarka* and as belonging to the Śāṇḍilya *gotra* having the Śāṇḍilya, Asita and Devala *pravaras*. The donee is further said to have been a *sabrahmacārin* of Narasiṁha and a student of the Chandoga *śākhā*. It is well known that, in a similar context, charters of ancient Indian rulers usually speak of a Brāhmaṇa as a *sabrahmacārin* or *adhyāyin*, i.e., a student; of a particular *śākhā* or *caraṇa* of a Veda.[1] In later Pāla charters, however, we have often mention of the donee as the *sabrahmacārin* of an individual. It appears that the word in such cases has the sense of 'a pupil'. Thus Ghāṇṭūkaśarman was probably a pupil of Narasiṁha.

The *dūta* or executor of the grant was the *mantrin* Prahasitarāja described as a son of the king. Why, in the name of this as yet unknown son of Vigrahapāla III, the ending *rāja* has been preferred to the expected *pāla* cannot be determined.[1] The engraver of the plate was the artisan Śaśideva hailing from Poṣalī. We know that several engravers of the Pāla plates hailed from the same village.

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[1] *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 97, 103, 105, 120, 179, 190, 248, 298, etc.

An interesting feature of the charter under discussion is the peculiar endorsement in two verses at the end. According to this, the real donor of the land was not, as recorded in the grant, the king but one of his Brāhmaṇa officers, named Ghaṇṭīśa. This man is described as a *vidheya* or servant of the lord of Gauḍa, i.e., the Pāla king, and as having friendship with several rulers. He is said to have made the grant out of his own *hala*, probably meaning the *jāgīr* under his possession. Ghaṇṭīśa was the son of Yogeśvara and the grandson of Vivada. This Vivada is said to have been born of Iddhahalā, daughter of Gohaṇaka and granddaughter of Kāccha who came [to Tīrabhukti or North Bihar] from Kroḍāñca. There is no doubt that Kroḍāñca is the same as Kolāñca mentioned earlier in the inscription as the original home of Ghāṇṭūkaśarman, donee of the grant. The nature of the present grant seems to be similar to that of such records as the Kailan (otherwise called Kailain) plate,[2] according to which an officer of a king got a piece of land (probably by purchase) from his master and parts of it were granted in favour of certain learned Brāhmaṇas and of a Buddhist religious establishment. In the present case, the king merely permitted and ratified the grant making the gift land a permanent revenue-free holding.

Besides the mention of a new Pāla *jaya-skandhāvāra* and a hitherto unknown son of Vigrahapāla III serving as a minister of his father, and the interesting nature of the grant actually made by a private individual but represented as a royal gift because the king made the land a rent-free holding, there are two facts of considerable importance in the Bangaon plate, the first of which is its date. So long, the latest definitely known date of the reign of this king was his 12th regnal year.[1] Of course there were the Kurkihar image inscriptions,[2] dated in the 19th regnal year of Vigrahapāla, and a manuscript of the *Pañcarakṣā* copied in the 26th year of his reign.[3] But it was not known whether these dates should have to be referred to Vigrahapāla III or his great-grandfather Vigrahapāla II. The recently discovered Naulagarh image inscription,[4] dated in the 24th regnal year of Vigrahapāla, without any indication in regard to his identity, also did not solve the problem. Thus the position was that, while Vigrahapāla III was known to have ruled at least for about 12 years, either the same king or Vigrahapāla II may have ruled at least for about 26 years. Under the circumstances, some writers[5] assigned to Vigrahapāla II a short reign of less than one year but to Vigrahapāla III a long reign of about 26 years, while others[6] assigned the long reign-period to Vigrahapāla II. In the total absence of any definite date of the reign of Vigrahapāla II, the attitude of the former group of scholars would no doubt appear to be more reasonable. And the present record showing that Vigrahapāla III ruled at least for about 17 years goes considerably in favour of this view. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, it is better to think that it was Vigrahapāla III who reigned for at least about 26 years and that Vigrahapāla II had a much shorter reign.

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[1] Was it due to the fact that Prahasitarāja was born of a concubine of king Vigrahapāla III ?

[2] *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221-41.

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[1] *History of Bengal, op. cit.*, p. 174 ; Bhandarkar's List, No, 1632.

[2] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 36, f., 239 f. ; *History of Bengal, loc. cit.*

[3] *History of Bengal, op. cit.*, p. 179.

[4] *Ganesh Datta College Bulletin*, No. 1, pp. 1-6 ; *J.B. R. S.*, Vol. XXXVII, Parts 3-4, pp. 1 ff.

[5] Ray (*D. H. N. I.*, Vol. I, p. 385) assigns Vigrahapāla II to circa 992 A. D. and Vigrahapāla III to circa 1055-81 A. D.

[7] Majumdar (*Hist. Beng.*, *op. cit.*, p. 177) assigns Vigrahapāla II to circa 960-88 A.D. and Vigrahapāla III to circa 1055-70 A.D.

The other interesting fact revealed by the Bangaon plate is the great importance attached by the local Brāhmaṇas of North Bihar to their relationship with a Brāhmaṇa of Kolāñca or Kroḍāñca. Ghaṇṭīśa, a Brāhmaṇa of Tīrabhukti, is found to trace his ancestry to a Kolāñca Brāhmaṇa named Kāccha through the granddaughter of the latter. His partiality to the Brāhmaṇas of Kolāñca is also indicated by the endowment made by him out of his fief land in favour of another Kolāñca Brāhmaṇa. That Kolāñca together with Tarkāri, apparently not far from it, was one of the most renowned seats of learned Brāhmaṇas in the early medieval period is definitely suggested by numerous charters of East Indian rulers granted in favour of the Brāhmaṇas hailing from that place.[1] We have seen that the identification of the locality is disputed. Some scholars locate it in the ancient Śrāvasti country, i. e., the district round modern Set-Mahet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich Districts of U. P., while others are inclined to place it on the borders of the Dinajpur and Bogra Districts of North Bengal.[2] We have also seen that the Brāhmaṇas of U. P., settled in Bengal, named their new habitations after their original homes. Equally interesting is the fact that the reverential attitude of East Indian Brāhmaṇas towards the Brāhmaṇas of Kolāñca, as evidenced by the record under review, seems to have been an important factor in the growth of the peculiar social institution, known as Kulinism, in North Bihar and Bengal.

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[1] See *History of Bengal, op. cit.*, pp. 479-80. Kolāñca or Kroḍāñca is also called Kolañca, Kroḍañci and Kroḍañja as already indicated above.

[2] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

According to the *Kulajīs* or *Kulapañjikās*[1] of Bengal, the Rāḍhīya and Vārendra Brāhmaṇas, who now form the bulk of the Brāhmaṇa community of Bengal, are descended from five learned Brāhmaṇas who came to Bengal from Kolāñca (Kānyakubja according to some versions) at the invitation of a king named Ādiśūra because of the dearth of Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas in that country. Different and mutually conflicting genealogies of Ādiśūra are given in different texts. He is said to have been the ruler of Bengal and Orissa, although some authorities include in his dominions Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Karṇāṭa, Kerala, Kāmarūpa, Saurāṣṭra, Magadha, Mālava and Gurjara. His capital is placed by some at Gauḍa in West Bengal and by others at Vikramapura in East Bengal. Six different religious ceremonies are mentioned by different authorities, for the performance of which the Brāhmaṇas are said to have been invited. The date of the advent of the five Brāhmaṇas is also variously put as Śaka 654, 675, 804, 854, 864, 914, 954, 994 and 999, while no less than three sets of names are offered as those of the five Brāhmaṇas. The nature of the traditions points clearly to their unreliable character. The reference to the Saka era shows beyond doubt that the stories were fabricated after the popularisation of the use of that era in Bengal about the twelfth century A. D.[2] There is evidence regarding the rule of a Śūra dynasty in Bengal.[3] But no genuine ruler named Ādiśūra is known from the Bengal sources. The only Ādiśūra known to East Indian history is a petty chief who flourished in North Bihar or its neighbourhood in the ninth century A. D. Maithil Vācaspatimiśra refers to this person in his *Nyāyakaṇikā*,[1] a commentary on Maṇḍanamiśra's *Vidhiviveka*, in the passage : *nija-bhuja-vīryam=āsthāya śūrān=Ādiśūro jayati*. Vācaspatimiśra composed his *Nyāyasūci* in [Vikrama] Saṁvat 898 (*vasv-aṅka-vasu-vatsare*), i.e., in 841 A. D.[2] Thus Ādiśūra, contemporary of Vācaspatimiśra, must also have flourished about the middle of the ninth century. Whether this Ādiśūra was a vassal of the Pāla emperors of Bengal and Bihar cannot be determined ; but most probably he was. In any case, he could not have been a mighty ruler. Since, however, the Pālas were Buddhists, this Brahmanical king, probably of parts of Mithilā and North Bengal, may have become important in the eyes of Brahmanical writers like Vācaspatimiśra. It is possible to think that the said Ādiśūra, for some unknown activities of his, became famous in the legends regarding the settlement of Kolāñca Brāhmaṇas in Bengal. If this suggestion is to be accepted, it is further possible to believe that the institution of Kulinism in Bengal was originally at least partially borrowed from North Bihar. This is also suggested by the possible indentity of Maithil Brāhmaṇa families of the Gaṅgaulī *mūla-grāma* (the same as *gāñi* of the *Kulapañjikās* of Bengal) and the Rāḍhīya Kulīna family styled Gaṅgopādhyāya (Gāṅgulī).[3]

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[1] *Ibid*., pp. 625-26. The points discussed in this section have also been referred to above, pp. 14-15.

[2] See *J.R.A.S.B.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 30-31, 80. Śrīdhara who wrote his *Nyāyakandalī* in Śaka 913=991 A.D. was an inhabitant of Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha ; but there is no proof that the work was written in Bengal. The author's patron Pāṇḍudāsa seems to have flourished in an area where the Śaka era was popular (cf. *Hist. Beng.*, p. 588, note). The case of Udayana, who composed his *Lakṣaṇāvalī* in Śaka 906=985 A.D., is more dubious (cf. *ibid.*, p. 313, note).

[3] *Hist. Beng.*, *op. cit*, pp 210-11

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[1] Varanasi ed., p. 290 ; *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Vol. LVII, p. 68.

[2] See S.C. Vidyabhushan, *History of Indian Logic*, p.133. Recent attempts to refer the year 898 to the Śaka era (*J.G.J.R.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 349-53 ; *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70) are unwarranted as the Śaka era was not prevalent in Mithila and the neighbouring areas in the 10th century. It has to be noticed that years of the Śaka era are usually not quoted vaguely as 'the year' as in the *Nyāyasūci*.

[3] *Proc. Hist. Rec. Com.*, 1942, p. 89 ; above, p. 15, note 4.

There is a strong Maithil element in the upper class Hindus of Bengal including Sylhet. The origin only of the Maithil families that migrated in the late medieval period is, however, remembered; earlier migrations were apparently completely absorbed in the social groups of Bengal.

IV

In connection with the *Kulapañjī* traditions regarding the importation of learned Brāhmaṇas from U.P. into Bengal, mention may be made of similar South Indian legends.

According to the Kargudari inscription of the Hangal Kadambas, the mythical Mayūravarman (the progenitor of the family and sometimes also called Trilocana Kadamba) came to the south from the Himalayan regions and brought from Ahicchatra (modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly District) 18 Brāhmaṇas whom he settled in the Kuntala country.[1] It is interesting to note that there are similar accounts of a mythical Trilocana Pallava in later Pallava inscriptions, who is said to have brought some Brāhmaṇas from Ahicchatra and settled them to the east of Srīparvata, where he founded 70 *agrahāras*.[2]

An inscription of the reign of the Cola king Kulottuṅga III (1178-1216 A.D.) says how the ancestors of the Iḍaṅgai (left-hand) classes settled in the Tamil country during the rule of the mythical king Arindama who imported a large number of learned and pious Brāhmaṇas from Antarvedi (i.e. the land between the Ganges and the Jumna). It is said that these people (98 in number according to a later record) accompanied the said Antarvedi Brāhmaṇas as the bearers of their slippers and umbrellas and recived five villages which now lie in the Tiruchirapalli District.[1]

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[1] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 560-61.

[2] *A.R.Ep.*, 1908, pp. 82-83.

No student of the social history of Bengal can fail to notice the close resemblance of the above tradition with the well-known *Kulapañjī* account of the importation of the ancestors of the Kulīnas from Kānyakubja (in the same Antarvedi country[2]), together with their Kāyastha servants,[3] by king Ādiśūra. This may of course damp the enthusiasm of those who even now believe in the historicity of the Ādiśūra story, though it is difficult to determine the contribution of South Indians, patronised by the Pāla and Sena kings, in the fabrication of the *Kulapañjī* account.

It may be noted that the Sena king Ballāla is credited in the *Kulapañjī* works with the institution of Kulinism in Bengal. The Senas hailed from Karṇāṭa and must have patronised South Indians in the same way as the Muslim rulers of India entertained Musalmans of other countries at their court. According to the Vaidya *Kulapañjī* works, the Senas later merged themselves in the Vaidya community of Bengal.[4] A number of Pāla kings had matrimonial relations with the ruling families of the Kannaḍa-speaking region of South India, while there was a Karṇāṭa contingent in the Pāla army since the reign of Devapāla (c. 910-50 A.D.), and a Coḻa regiment was added to the army at a later date.[1] The possibility of the importation of the legend about the bringing of the U.P. Brāhmaṇas, from South India into Bengal, therefore cannot be regarded as altogether impossible.

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[1] Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, 2nd ed., pp. 550-52.

[2] The *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* regards *Antarvedi* and *Kuśasthalī* as synonyms whereas *Kuśasthala* is another name of Kānyakubja even according to the same work.

[3] They were the ancestors of the Ghoṣa, Vasu, Guha, Mitra and Datta families. The first four are the Kulīna families among the Kāyasthas.

[4] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 42-43. See also the section on the Ambaṣṭhas below.

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[1] *J. N. Banerjea Volume*, pp. 211-12. See the section on the Karṇāṭas below.

CHAPTER II

DRAVIDIANS IN SOUTH INDIA

On the basis of the result of archaeological excavations conducted at Brahmagiri in Mysore and other places in South India, studied and discussed by R. E. M. Wheeler, G. H. Gordon, Christop von Fürer-Haimendorf and others, has emerged the following theory regarding the ancient history and civilization of Peninsular India.[1]

The lowest implementiferous stratum at Brahmagiri, a site bearing stone-circles of a type which is characteristic of many parts of the Deccan, has to be assigned to neolithic times. Its distinctive artifact is the axe of the pointed-butt type with polished cutting edge and oval section. This pointed-butt axe is widely distributed over Peninsular India. It is accompanied at Brahmagiri by pottery of a very crude hand-made type. The makers of this pottery and the neolithic axes appear to have been shifting cultivators who kept pigs and fowls but lacked domesticated cattle. Their culture was overlaid by a civilization characterized by the use of iron, a distinctive wheel-turned brown and black pottery and especially megalithic tombs containing stone-cists with 'port-holes'. From excavations at Brahmagiri and a place in the Bellary District, it appears that this megalithic iron-using civilization did not grow out of the earlier neolithic culture of the area but had its roots elsewhere outside Peninsular India. Wheeler suggests 200 B. C. as the date for the beginning of the megalithic culture at Brahmagiri, while Fürer-Haimendorf makes it 300 B. C. on the ground that the Aśokan inscriptions of the vicinity could have hardly been put up amidst primitive folk living in the neolithic style of life. But it is believed that the new megalithic civilization did not make its appearance in the Deccan long before 500 B. C. ; then it is supposed to have spread over the Deccan and large areas of South India with the amazing speed and dynamic force characteristic of a new and superior civilization. This type of megalithic monuments in the shape of grave circles, dolmens and menhirs, found in the present Dravidian-speaking India and exhibiting in them only implements of iron and of no other metal, has not been found in North India with the exception of some groups of stone-cists near Karachi in West Pakistan. These Iron Age megalith-builders, whose civilization was an intrusion in South India, have been identified with the Dravidians. They could not have come from North India where Bronze Age cultures flourished, as any people coming from that area must have brought with them implements not only of iron but at least some also of bronze. They therefore entered the Deccan by sea and moved southward along the western coast of India. The striking similarity of these megalithic tombs and those of the Mediterranean area, which extends to so characteristic a feature as the 'port-holes' in the stone-cists, has been naturally taken to suggest Western association; but it has also been noticed that the linking of South Indian megaliths of the latter half of the first millennium B. C. with those of the West, none of which can be dated later than the second millennium B. C., offers a chronological difficulty. The existence of the Dravidian-speaking Brahuis in Baluchistan and the stone-cists in the vicinity of Karachi has been explained by the suggestion that the Dravidians migrated by land or by sea along the coast and founded colonies at suitable sites, most of which are supposed to have been ultimately absorbed by the surrounding Aryan-speaking populations. Gordon suggests that the ships of this people plied between the South Arabian and West Indian coasts in the first half of the first millennium B. C. He considers the time between 700 and 400 B. C. as the most likely period of their immigration in the western parts of the Deccan. It is believed that there was no Dravidian-speaking population in North India except in the coastal areas of modern West Pakistan and that the belt of the primitive tribal population in the central parts of India constituted a barrier between the Aryan and Dravidian spheres, the gradual reduction of the belt beginning from the north and the south at about the same time, about the middle of the first millennium B. C.

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[1] See *Ancient India*, No. 4, pp. 180 ff. (especially p. 202) ; *Indo-Asian Culture*, January 1954, pp. 238-47 ; etc.

We have some doubts about the plausibillity of the theory detailed above. Some of the grounds of our doubts are summarily discussed below.

The Maurya emperor Aśoka (circa 272-232 B. C.) had the headquarters of one of the administrative units of his empire at Isila (near Brahmagiri), where we have his edicts issued about 12 years after his coronation in 269 B. C. (i.e. about 258 B. C.).[1] But there is some evidence to show that the Mysore area formed a part of the dominions not only of this grandfather Candragupta in the last quarter of the 4th century B. C., but also of the Nandas, who preceded the Mauryas on the throne of Pāṭaliputra, in the earlier quarters of that century.[2] Is it possible that the rulers of distant Pāṭaliputra (near modern Patna in Bihar) cared to penetrate so far south in an age when practically the whole of the land to the south of the Vindhyas was almost entirely inhabited by primitive peoples?

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[1] See *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. xliv ff.

[2] Cf. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 215 ff.

The earliest Aryan kingdom in the Deccan seems to have been Vidarbha (modern Berar) which is mentioned in the pre-Buddhistic *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 34) as ruled by a king named Bhīma. It is also mentioned in other works of later Vedic literature, such as the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* (II. 440), the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (II. 5. 22; IV. 5. 28) and *Praśna Upaniṣad* (I. i). Its old capital was the city of Kuṇḍina which has been identified with Kauṇḍinyapura on the Wardha in the Chandur Taluk of the Amraoti District.[1] This shows that Berar in the Deccan was colonized by the Aryans long before 500 B. C. The Buddhist canonical texts speak of Aśmaka on the Godāvarī, with its capital Potana or Paudanya (modern Bodhan in the Nizamabad District of Andhra Pradesh) as a kingdom existing at the time of the Buddha.[2] Pāṇini (IV. 1. 173), who flourished in the 5th century B. C., also mentions Aśmaka, though this reference may also be to a people of the same name living in the north-western regions of India. But, in the fourth century B. C., the grammarian Kātyāyana (under Pāṇini, IV. i. 168 and 175) speaks of the Colas and Pāṇḍyas and indicates the latter's association with the Pāṇḍu people of North India.[3] This association seems to be supported by the name of the Pāṇḍya capital, viz. the city of Madurā (named after Mathurā or Madhurā, capital of the Sūrasenas), and the confused stories related by Megasthenes in the fourth century B. C.

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[1] See Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 1938, pp. 73-74.

[2] Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, s.v. *Potaliya* (Vol. II p. 249); *Sutta Nipāta*, 977 (*S. B. E.*, Vol. X, Part ii, p. 184).

[3] R. G. Bhandarkar, *Anc. Hist. Dec.*, Poona ed., p. 13.

regarding Heracles and Pandaia.[1] In the third century B. C., Aśoka refers to the Colas and Pāṇḍyas of the Coromandel coast and the Sātīyas and Keralas of the Malabar coast as also Tāmraparṇī or Ceylon, all of these countries lying to the south of the southern boundary of the Maurya empire, i. e. roughly to the south of Mysore. In all these five frontier states, Aśoka is stated to have made arrangements for the medical treatment of men and animals. There is thus no doubt that the Aryans came into contact with the southernmost districts of India as early at least as the fourth century B. C. Is this story of the Aryan advance towards the south quite consistent with the new theory regarding the Dravidians establishing themselves in the Deccan about 500 B. C.? We feel that, in such a case, there must have been some trace of struggle between the Aryans and Dravidians in Indian literary works of the second half of the first millennium B. C. But, curiously enough, there is no such trace at all. On the other hand, it must be noted that the struggle between the Aryans and the Dasyus or Dāsas, i. e. Nonaryans, is a remarkable feature of the oldest Indian literary work, viz. the *Ṛgveda*, which has to be attributed to a date earlier than the first millennium B. C.

The isolated existence of the Dravidian-speaking Malers in the Rajmahal hills on the eastern fringe of Bihar seems to suggest that the Dravidians were not entirely absent from North India. Since the Malers are neither civilized nor have they anything to do with megalithic tombs, it is difficult to believe that all Dravidian-speaking tribes can be associated with the megalithic culture of the Deccan. It can hardly be proved that the Malers are a non-Dravidian people who migrated to the Chota Nagpur plateau from some distant parts of the Deccan after having lost their original language. Of course, anything can be conjectured.

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[1] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-72.

There seems to be some evidence regarding the movement of at least some Dravidian tribes from the north to the south. The present-day speakers of the Dravidian Telugu language call themselves Andhra or Āndhra. The Andhras are mentioned along with the Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas as being Dasyus or Nonaryans who became outcastes owing to the refusal of their progenitor, one of the fifty elder sons of Viśvāmitra, to accept the latter's adoption of Śunaḥśepa, not only in the *S'āṅkhāyana S'rauta Sūtra* (XV. 26) but also in the pre-Buddhistic *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 18). They were apparently occupying a land on the southern borders of the Aryan-occupied area of North India. This indicates their occupation of a region abutting on the Vindhyas.[1] The Andhra people gradually moved towards the south and, sometime before the fourth century A. D., their name came to be associated with the heart of the present-day Andhra or Telugu-speaking country, about the mouths of the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī.[2] The *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra*, a work of about the third century B. C., is known to be the product of a Vedic school belonging to the land of the Andhras, while the *Khādira Gṛhya Sūtra* of the same age also belongs to South India.[3] This seems to refer to Aryan settlements in the land of the Dravidians, and some sort of fusion of Aryan and Dravidian cultures even at that early age is further suggested not only by the pre-Christian epigraphs of the Aryanized Śātavāhana rulers of the Andhra race, but also by the *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra* (I. i. 25-31) of the middle of the first millennium B. C. This work speaks of three cultural belts in India from the Aryan point of view. The first of these was pure, i. e. dominated by Aryan culture. The second was *saṅkīrna-yoni*, i. e. influenced by both Aryan and Nonaryan civilizations, while the third was totally impure, i. e. mostly Nonaryan.[1] It is interesting to note that the Dākṣiṇātyas, whose name is also known to Pāṇini (IV. 2. 98), are placed in the second of the three categories. These Dākṣiṇātyas must have been either Aryanized Dravidians or Aryan settlers in the land of the Dravidians. More interesting from our point of view is, however, the fact that the *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra* approves of the Dravidian cross-cousin marriage for the Dākṣiṇātyas. Is it reasonable to hold that such peaceful adoption of a Dravidian social institution, which was totally opposed to Aryan ideas, could have taken place at such an early date if the Dravidians began to move towards the north only about 500 B. C. ?

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[1] In Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka 'the Andhras and Pulindas' are mentioned along with the Bhojas [of Vidarbha (Berar)] while the Pulindas are generally associated in literature with the Vindhyan region.

[2] *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, pp. 191 ff.

[3] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 227, 229 ; *S. B. E.*, Vol. II, pp. xxxii-xlvi. Āpastamba speaks pointedly of the 'Northerners' (II. 7. 17. 17) and follows what he calls the Andhra text of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (*S. B. E.*, *op. cit.*, p. xxxvi).

Moreover, we have still earlier evidence in favour of such a fusion of Aryan and Dravidian cultures. The cerebral consonants are believed by linguists to have been borrowed by the Aryans from Dravidian speech as early as the Ṛgvedic age, while Aryan adoption of certain Dravidian words can be traced in works of later Vedic literature, most of which are pre-Buddhistic. The word *maṭaci* (Kannaḍa *miḍice*) occurs in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (I. 10. 1) while the names of the mother-goddess, *Umā* and *Ambikā* from Dravidian *Amma*, 'the Mother', have been found in the *Kena Upaniṣad* (III. 12), *Maitrāyani Saṁhitā* (I. 10. 20) and *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (I. 6. 10); cf. also *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* (XXIII 18) and *S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII. 2. 8. 3).[1] Similar other borrowings by the Aryans from the Dravidians are believed by scholars to be the deities Siva, Kumāra, Hanumat (earlier *Vṛṣākapi*; from Tamil *anmanti*, 'the male monkey'), etc. That some of these deities were popular even in early times far away from South India is indicated by the fact that the goddess Ommo (i. e. Umā=Amma) and the god Komaro (Kumāra) are mentioned on some coins of the Kuṣāṇa king Huviṣka (106-38 A. D.) who had nothing to do with South India. There is also an inscription referring to the construction of a shrine for the god Kumāra in the Hazara District of West Pakistan sometime in the fourth century A. D.[2] Linguists believe that *pūjā* (worship of deities by offering flowers), opposed to the sacrifice preferred by early Indo-Aryans, was essentially a Dravidian religious institution later adopted by the Aryans, the word being derived from the Dravidian word *pū*, 'flower'.[3] An early reference to the worship of gods with flowers is found in the *Bhagavadgītā* (IX. 16), a pre-Christian work associated with an ancient religious leader of the Mathurā region of North India, who may have had Nonaryan blood in his veins.

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[1] *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, ed. R. C. Majumdar, pp. 7-8, 35.

On the basis of certain typical Dravidian words, linguists say that the Dravidians 'had alphabetical characters (*eḻuttu*) written (*varai*) with a style (*iraku*) on palmyra leaves (*olai*), and a bundle of leaves was called a book

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[1] Kieth, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and the Upaniṣads*, pp. 149, 199-200; Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58. The word *ambā* of the same derivation and sense occurs in the *Ṛgveda* (Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, p. 7, note 6).

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 59ff.

[3] See *The Vedic Age*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, pp. 154 ff.

(*eṭu*)'.[1] As the earliest use of alphabet in South India and Ceylon is that of Brāhmī, these distinctive words would suggest that the Dravidians considered it their own and that they did not borrow it from the Aryans. There is again no evidence to show that the Indo-Aryans had any alphabet of their own or that they invented the Brāhmī script. These facts may suggest that it was the Dravidians who originally used the undeciphered Indus valley script from which Brāhmī seems to have ultimately developed. At least this seems more likely than the theory set forth at the beginning of this paper in view, as noticed by scholars, of the survival of Dravidian vocables in the place names of North India, the possible interpretation of the references to Nonaryan peoples in Vedic literature, the presence of a strong Dravidian element in the Aryan language from the Vedic age downwards, the gradual Dravidianization of the spirit of the Aryan language leading to a very large approximation of the Neo-Indo-Aryan languages to the speech-habits of the Dravidians, the Dravidian character of a good deal of the extra-Indo-European elements in Hindu religious ritual, thought, mythology and legendary history, and toponomy and cultural survivals pointing to the extension of Dravidian speakers in various parts of North India.[2]

The *Ṛgveda* does not show that the Indo-Aryans were conscious of entering a new country on their advent into India. This curious feature may probably be explained by the existence of Daha-Dahyus (the Vedic *Dāsa-Dasyus*) in Iran. It has been suggested that the Aryans and the Dāsa-Dasyu peoples came into contact in Iran (possibly East Iran) and that the racial and cultural fusion, including linguistic influencing, between them commenced outside

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[1] *The Vedic Age*, p. 159.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

India.[1] The suggestion that the highly civilized pre-Aryan people of Mohenjodaro and Harappa were, atleast partly, Dravidian-speakers accords best, in the present state of our knowledge, with the subsequent trend of Indian history and civilization.[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

[2] M. B. Emeneau has arrived at similar conclusions (cf. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 98, No. 4, August 16, 1954, p. 287, note 23). T. Burrows also says, "The Dravidian words in the Rgveda attest the presence of the Dravidians in North-Western India at that period" (*The Sanskrit Language*, 1954, p. 387). For a recent support to our views originally published in the *Man in India*, Vol XXXV, No. 1, January-March 1955, see N. R. Banerjee in the *Silver Jubilee Volume* of the Archaeological Society of South India, Madras, 1962, pp. 180-89.

CHAPTER III

FOREIGNERS AND NONARYANS

I

There is a story in the *Harivaṁśa* (I. 13-14) and a number of the Purāṇas such as the *Vāyu* (88), *Brahmāṇḍa* (III. 63), *Brahma* (8), *S'iva* (VI. 61), Viṣṇu (IV. 3), *Bhāgavata* (IX. 8) and *Bṛhannāradīya* (7-8). It is told practically in the same language in the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Brahma Purāṇas* while some stanzas are omitted in the *S'iva Purāṇa* version, and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* offers it in prose. The *Bhāgavata* gives a summary account and the *Bṛhannāradīya* a distorted version. The *Mahābhārata* (III. 106. 8) merely refers to the story.

The original story in the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Vāyu* and *S'iva Purāṇas* is told twice, first in short and next in detail. Its shorter version runs as follows.

King Bāhu of the Ikṣvāku dynasty was driven out of his kingdom by the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas who were allied with the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas. Bāhu's son Sagara was brought up by the sage Aurva of the Bhṛgu family at his hermitage and received the fire-weapon from the latter. Sagara then destroyed the Tālajaṅghas and Haihayas and stopped the performance of the prescribed duties of the Kṣatriyas by the Śakas, Pahlavas and Pāradas.[1]

Among the enemies of Bāhu and Sagara mentioned here, the Haihayas were a branch of the Yadu or Yādava clan while the Tālajaṅghas represented a subclan of the Haihayas.[2] Their allies enumerated in the section were foreigners mostly settled in the Uttarāpatha division of Bhāratavarṣa, the Yavanas (Greeks) and Śakas (Scythians) being the most celebrated amongst them. The Kāmbojas are supposed to have been Iranian autochthons of the Afghanistan region,[3] while the Pahlavas were the Sasanians of Persia[4] and the Pāradas may have been Parthians settled in Uttarāpatha.[5]

The bigger version of the story is introduced in response to two queries, one of which sought the reason why Sagara became angry with the Śakas and other peoples so as to prohibit them from observing the practices to be followed by the Kṣatriya community.[1]

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[1] *Harivaṁśa*, I. 13. 30 ff. ; cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 122, ff. ; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, III. 63. 120-41 ; *Śiva Purāṇa*, VI. 61. 23 ff. ; *Brahma Purāṇa*, 8. 29-51 ; etc.

> *Śakair=Yavana-Kāmbojaiḥ Pāradaiḥ Pahlavais=tathā* |
> *Haihayās=Tālajaṅghāś=ca nirasyati sma taṁ nṛpam* || ***
> *Aurvasy=āśramam=āgamya Bhārgaveṇ=ābhirakṣitaḥ* |
> *āgneyam=astraṁ labdhvā ca Bhārgavāt=Sagaro nṛpaḥ* ||
> *Jigāya pṛthivīṁ hatvā Tālajaṅghān=sa-Haihayān* |
> *Śakānāṁ Pahlavānāñ=ca dharmaṁ nirasad=acyutaḥ* ||
> *Kṣatriyāṇāṁ Kuru-śreṣṭha Pāradānāṁ sa dharmavit* ||

[2] See Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 35, note 4.

[3] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 7.

[4] See below for their identification with the Pārasīkas ; cf. also Pargiter, *The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 314, note.

[5] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 317, note. Pargiter locates the Pāradas in the Western Himalayas, but does not connect them with the people of Parthia (modern Khorasan).

The kingdom of the unfortunate king Bāhu was usurped by the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas. The Śakas were allied with the usurpers while the five tribes, viz. the Yavanas, Pāradas, Kāmbojas, Pahlavas and Khasas, were also fighting on the side of the Haihayas.[2] Having lost his kingdom, Bāhu, accompanied by his queen of the Yādava clan, repaired to the forest and died there. The queen was pregnant at the time, and the sage Aurva of the Bhṛgu family dissuaded her from committing *Satī* and took her to his hermitage.[3] There she gave birth to Sagara who received all his training from the sage. Aurva also gave him the terrible fire-weapon with which Sagara soon annihilated the Haihayas responsible for his father's discomfiture.[4] Thereafter he was bent upon extirpating the allies of the Haihayas, viz. the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas. The defeated peoples appealed to the king's preceptor Vasiṣṭha to save them from Sagara's wrath. The sage granted them refuge and advised Sagara to spare their lives.[1] The king then thought of a *via media* between his own vow to extirpate his father's adversaries and his preceptor's advice to spare them and compelled the Śakas and others to give up their prescribed duties and to change their appearance. Thus the Śakas had to shave half their head and the Yavanas and Kāmbojas the whole of it while the Pāradas had to keep long hanging hair and the Pahlavas long beard. At the same time, they were prohibited from studying the Vedas and offering oblations.[2] It is added that the Kṣatriyas whose duties were thus repudiated by Sagara as a result of Vasiṣṭha's advice were the Sakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, [Pahlavas], Kaulisarpas (or, Kalisparśas), Mahiṣas (or, Mahiṣikas) Dārdyas (sic—Dārvas), Colas and Keralas.[3]

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[1] *Harivaṁśa*, I. 14. 1 f.; cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 26 f.
Kim=arthañ=ca Śakādīnāṁ Kṣatriyāṇāṁ mahaujasām ।
dharmaṁ kul-ochitaṁ kruddho rājā nirasad=acyutaḥ ॥

[2] *Harivaṁśa*, I. 14. 3f.; cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 127f.; *Śiva Purāṇa*, VI. 61. 29f.
Bāhor=vyasaninas=tāta hṛtaṁ rājyam=abhūt=kila ।
Haihayais=Tālajaṅghaiś=ca Śakaiḥ sārdhaṁ viśāmpateḥ ॥
Yavanāḥ Pāradāś=c=aiva Kāmbojāḥ Pahlavāḥ Khasāḥ ।
ete hy=api gaṇāḥ pañca Haihay-ārthe parākraman ॥

[3] *Harivaṁśa*, I. 14. 5ff.; cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 129ff.; *Śiva Purāṇa*, VI. 61. 31ff.

[4] *Harivaṁśa*, I. 14. 8ff.; cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 133ff.; *Śiva Purāṇa*, VI. 61. 34ff.

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[1] *Harivaṁśa*, I. 14. 12ff.; cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 136ff.; *Śiva Purāṇa*, VI. 61. 33ff.

Tataḥ Śakān=sa-Yavanān=Kāmbojān=Pāradāṁs=tathā |
Pahlavāṁś=c=aiva niḥśeṣān=kartuṁ vyavasitas=tadā ||
Te vadhyamānā vīreṇa Sagareṇa mahātmanā |
Vasiṣṭhaṁ śaraṇaṁ gatvā praṇipetur=manīṣiṇam || ***
Sagaraṁ vārayāmāsa teṣāṁ dattv=ābhayaṁ tadā |

[2] *Harivaṁśa*, I. 14. 15 ff. ; cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 139 ff. ; *Śiva Purāṇa*, VI. 61. 40 ff.

Sagaraḥ svāṁ pratijñāṁ ca guror=vākyaṁ niśamya ca |
dharmaṁ jaghāna teṣāṁ vai veṣ-ānyatvaṁ cakāra ha ||
Ardhaṁ Śakānāṁ śiraso muṇḍaṁ kṛtvā vyasarjayat |
Yavanānāṁ śiraḥ sarvaṁ Pahlavānāṁ tath=aiva ca ||
Pāradā mukta-keśāś=ca Pahlavāḥ śmaśrudhāriṇaḥ |
niḥ-svādhyāya-vasaṭkārāḥ kṛtās=tena mahātmanā ||

[3] *Harivaṁśa*, I. 14. 18 ff. ; cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 142-43.

Śakā Yavanāḥ Kāmbojāḥ Pāradāś=calviśāmpate |
Kaulisarpāḥ sa-Mahiṣā Dārdyāś=Colāḥ sa-Keralāḥ ||
Sarve te Kṣatriyās=tāta dharmas=teṣāṁ nirākṛtaḥ |
Vasiṣṭha-vacanād=rājan=Sagareṇa mahātmanā ||

After narrating the above story, the *Harivaṁśa* (I. 14. 20-21) mentions Sagara's victory over the Khasas, Tuṣāras, Colas, Madras, Kiṣkindhakas, Kauntalas, Vaṅgas, Śālvas and Kauṅkaṇas in connection with the *Vājimedha* or horse-sacrifice to be performed by him.

The story of Sagara's success against his father's enemies raises several interesting questions. The persistent nature of the tradition and the dramatic vividness of the details may tempt one to think that it has some historical basis. But it is not easy to accept Bāhu and Sagara as historical personages. Moreover, even if we believe in the historicity of the said Ikṣvāku kings and of their struggle with the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas, the attempt to bring in the Greeks and Scythians has to be regarded as a clear case of anachronism. Known facts of history indicate beyond doubt that the Greeks and Scythians had nothing to do with India in the hoary antiquity, to which mythology ascribes Bāhu and Sagara. The Puranic tradition regards Sagara as twentyfour generations in ascent from Daśaratha, father of Rāma of the *Rāmāyaṇa* fame.[1] It may be that the original tradition referred to the subjugation of the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas, as in the *Mahābhārata*, and that the story of their allies was later added to it. Among these allies, five foreign peoples are first spoken of and later the Nonaryan Khasas of India and still later some other similar Nonaryan tribes are added to the list.

There is a reason why the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas have been so intimately associated in the story with the foreign and Nonaryan peoples. According to a well-known tradition, king Yayāti of the lunar race cursed his four elder sons, viz. Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu and Anu, and gave his throne to his youngest son Puru. As a result of the curse, the descendants of the four brothers came to be the Yādavas, Yavanas, Bhojas and Mlecchas respectively.[1] Of these, the Bhojas were often regarded as a branch of the Yādava people.[2] Originally the Yādavas must have been looked down upon apparently because of their Nonaryan associations. Later, however, the Yadu-vaṁśa came to be regarded as aristocratic like the solar and lunar races. This was no doubt due to the Yādava hero Vāsudeva Kṛṣna who was deified and became soon identified with the Vedic god Viṣṇu.[3] The Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas were subclans of the Yādavas.

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[1] See, e.g., *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88 ; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV. 4.

But there are a few other interesting aspects of the story, one of which is the ascription of the peculiarities of the Śakas and other peoples to their subjugation by Sagara. Indeed, the half-shaven head of the Śakas, the fully-shaven head of the Yavanas and Kāmbojas, the long hanging hair of the Pāradas and the long beard of the Pahlavas were the respective traits of the peoples. In Sanskrit literature, there are some other instances of the tribal or national characteristics of a people being ascribed to their discomfiture at the hands of an enemy.[4]

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[1] *Mahābhārata*, I. 85. 34 ; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 34. 30.
Yados=tu Yādavā jātās=Turvasor=Yavanāḥ smṛtāḥ |
Druhyoḥ sutās=tu vai Bhojā Anos=tu Mleccha-jātayaḥ ||

[2] Cf. Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 35, note 4.

[3] *The Age of Imperial Unity,* ed. Majumdar, pp. 432-33, 435.

[4] Another interesting literary motif in the story is the birth of a great hero in the abode of a Brāhmaṇa after his father's death. There is a similar story in the epigraphic records of the Cālukyas of Veṅgī (cf. *The Classical Age*, p. 230 ; *SII,* Vol. I, p. 58). King Vijayāditya died in a struggle with king Trilocana-pallava, and his widowed queen then gave birth to Viṣṇuvardhana, the progenitor of the Cāḷukya royal house, at the place of the ascetic Viṣṇubhaṭṭa-somayājin of the *agrahāra* of Muḍivemu. Cf. also the legend of Mādhavavarman, the posthumous son of king Somadeva of Kandarapura, in Kase Sarvappa's *Śrī-Siddheśvaracaritamu* (Telugu), ed. K. Lakshminarayanam, pp. xvi ff.

While describing the victories of the Kashmirian king Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa (c. 724-60 A.D.), Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (IV. 178 ff.), composed about 1150 A.D., says, "This mighty [king] made the [conquered] rulers, in order to indicate their defeat, adopt various characteristic marks which they [and their people] wear humbly even at the present day. Clearly it is by his command to display the mark of their bondage that the Turuṣkas carry their arms at their back and shave half their head. In the *kaupīna* (waist-cloth) of the Dākṣiṇātyas, he made the tail sweeping the ground, to mark that they are like beasts."[1] Here the Turuṣka habit of carrying arms behind the back and shaving half the head as well as the Dākṣiṇātya practice of tucking only one corner of the *dhotī*-end behind the back (unlike the East Indian habit of tucking the entire *dhotī*-end behind the back) has been attributed to the defeat of the peoples at the hand of the Kashmir king.

Likewise, the Haraha inscription (553-54 A.D.) describes Maukhari Īśānavarman's success against the sea-faring Gauḍa people of West Bengal in the words : *kṛtvā c=āyati-mocita-sthala-bhuvo Gauḍān=samudr-āśrayan*, "having conquered the Gauḍas and having compelled them, for all time to come, to flee from land and to take refuge in [the waters of] the sea."[2] A national characteristic of the Gauḍas has been attributed here to their subjugation by the Maukhari king.

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[1] *Parājaya-vyañjan-ārthaṁ nānā-liṅgāni pārthivāḥ* |
ugreṇa grāhitās=tena vahanty=ady=āpi nirmadāḥ ||
Bandha-mudr-ābhidhānāya paścād=bāhū tad-ājñayā |
Turuṣkā dadhate vyaktaṁ mūrdhānañ=c=ārdha-muṇḍitam ||
Kṣitibhṛd=Dākṣiṇātyānāṁ tiryaktva-jñāpanāya saḥ |
pucchaṁ mahītala-sparśi cakre kaupīna-vāsasi ||

[2] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 115 ff. (verse 12) ; *J. A. S.*, Letters, Vol. XI, 1945, p. 69, note 4.

More important is, however, the bearing of the story on the position of the foreign settlers and the semi-Aryanised Nonaryans in the Brahmanical social system. Some of the practices of such peoples appeared peculiar to the followers of Brahmanism, and the leaders of the society, who were eager to assign any people a place in the Indian social system, characterised by the theoretical classification known as the *catur-varṇa*, owed an explanation to their followers even though the position of a particular foreign or Non-aryan tribe in the social scheme depended on its importance, culture and activities.[1] We have seen how the Sagara story explains the peculiar habits of some such peoples. There are a few similar other fanciful explanations.

A peculiarity of the Yavanas is noticed in some versions of Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka (272-232 B.C.), which suggest that the *catur-varṇa* classification of the society was prevalent in the Maurya empire excluding that part where the Yavanas dwelt.[2] This is explained by the Buddhist canonical work *Majjhimanikāya* which states that, in the lands of the Yavanas and Kāmbojas, there are only two [and not the usual four] social grades, viz. Ārya and Dāsa, *i.e.* the nobles and the serfs.[3] But, at a later date, Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* regards the Śakas and Yavanas as clean or pure Śūdra.[4] Practically the same social position is assigned to these peoples by the *Manusmṛti* at a still later date. It however speaks of them at one place as degraded Kṣatriya, though it is implied at another place that they were the descendants of the apostate Kṣatriya. Thus it (X. 42-43) says, "By the omission of the prescribed duties and also by the neglect of the Brāhmaṇa, the following Kṣatriya *jātis* have gradually sunk into the position of the Vṛṣala (Sūdra or the low-born) : the Pauṇḍrakas (or Pauṇḍras), Coḍas (or Auḍras), Draviḍas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Sakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khasas."[1] Elsewhere (X. 22), the Khasas and Draviḍas of the above list are placed in the list of the descendants of the *Vrātya* (apostate) Kṣatriya : "From the *Vrātya* Kṣatriya are born the Jhalla, Malla, Nicchivi (Licchavi), Naṭa, Karaṇa, Khasa and Draviḍa."[2]

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[1] *Homage to Vaiśālī*, ed. Mathur and Mishra, p. 74.

[2] Cf. *nathi cā ṣe janapade yatā nathi ime nikāyā ānatā Yonesu Baṁhane cā Ṣamane cā* (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 36, note 9).

[3] II. 149 : *Yona-Kaṁbojesu dve va vaṇṇā Ayyo c=eva Dāso ca.*

[4] On Pāṇini, II. 4. 10.

It will be seen that, while Manu seeks to explain the peculiar ways of these foreign and indigenous peoples as due to their omission of the prescribed duties and neglect of the Brāhmaṇa, the Sagara story ascribes them to the subjugation of a number of the peoples by Sagara. As regards the peculiar habits ascribed to certain peoples in the Sagara story and elsewhere, we have already said a few words about the style of wearing *dhotī* by the Dākṣiṇātyas as mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the sea-faring nature of the Gauḍa people as known from the Haraha inscription. As to the Turuṣkas carrying their arms behind the back, Stein observes, "Yarkhandīs and Tibetans are fond of walking with their hands folded at their back."[3] Besides, we have been told that the Śakas and Turuṣkas shaved half their head, that the Yavanas and Kāmbojas shaved all the head and that the Pāradas had long hanging hair and the Pahlavas long beard. These fashions were apparently regarded as peculiar because they were un-Indian. The Indian males, excluding the ascetic classes, usually shaved their beard and, though they kept long hair, it was generally tied up in a top, side or back knot.[1] The long beard of the Pahlavas, who are generally identified with the Persians, reminds us of Kālidāsa's description of the *śmaśrula* (bearded) head of the Pārasīkas or Pāścātyas, which looked like a bee-hive.[2] As regards the statement that the Yavanas and Kāmbojas shaved off their hair on the head, we have to note that the royal head represented on the coins of the Greek kings of Bactria and India exhibit neither shaven head nor long hair, but short hair. This therefore may have been the characteristic referred to in the Sagara story.

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[1] *Śanakais=tu kriyā-lopād=imāḥ Kṣatriya-jātayaḥ* |
Vṛṣalatvaṁ gatā loke Brāhmaṇ-ādarśanena ca ‖
Pauṇḍrakāś=Coḍa-Draviḍāḥ Kāmbojā Yavanāḥ Śakāḥ |
Pāradāḥ Pahlavāś=Cīnāḥ Kirātā Daradāḥ Khasāḥ ‖
Pauṇḍrakāś=c=Auḍra-Draviḍāḥ is a variant reading.

[2] *Jhallo Mallaś=ca Rājanyād=vrātyān=Nicchivir=eva ca* |
Naṭaś=ca Karaṇaś=c=aiva Khaso Draviḍa eva ca ‖

[3] *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 138, note.

More difficult to understand is what has been meant by the statement that the Śakas and Turuṣkas shaved half their head. The king's head on the coins of the Śakas of Western India exhibit a close-fitting cap and hair hanging by the neck above the shoulders. Thus, if hair on any part of the head was shaved or sheared, it may have been in the front, *i.e.* above the forehead.

The short version of the story as found in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[3] says that Sagara did not kill the Tāḷajaṅghas, Yavanas, Śakas, Haihayas and Barbaras, but made them *vikṛta-veśin* (i.e. caused changes in their appearance). Thus some of them were made to shave their head, some to

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1. Cf. *Journ. Ind. Soc. Or. Art*, Vol. VIII, pp. 90, 92 ; *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 193, 307. The *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Act IV, verse 2, speaks of some of the styles as *granthi*, *jūṭaka*, *bāla*, *kuntala*, *mukta* and *ūrdhvacūḍa*.
2. *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV. 60, 62-63; cf. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 325-26.
3. IV. 8. 5-6.

keep long beard, some to keep hanging hair, some to shave half the head, and some to wear *antar-vāsas* (under-garment) and some *bahir-vāsas* (upper garment or cloak). The last of these characteristics appears to refer to covering the upper part of the body in the *udīcya-veśa*. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[1] the Kāmbojas, Pahlavas, Yavanas, Śakas, Mlecchas, Kirātas and Tuṣāras were created by Vasiṣṭha's cow when Viśvāmitra tried to carry her forcibly away.

II

Some time ago, I received for examination a plaster and a silicose cast of a splendid crystal intaglio from Mr. Douglas E. Barrett of the Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum, London. It was the property of Lieut.-Col. C. H. S. Deane who is known to have been stationed at Peshawar and Rawalpindi in 1932-34, and this fact led to the supposition that the provenance of the object might be the former North-West Frontier Province, now in West Pakistan. The belief that the head-dress of the human figure represented on the crystal is of the Khotanese type of about the seventh century A.D. lent some colour to the supposition. But Mr. Barrett enquired about Deane's army career in India and found out that, before the First World War, he was for some time stationed at Ajmer and, after 1919, in Bihar, Mandalay, Kamptee and Secunderabad. Deane's career in India therefore does not help us in tracing the provenance of the crystal, since he could have purchased it at any of the places where he was stationed and from a dealer belonging to any part of Northern India or elsewhere.

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[1] I. 155-56. This story associates the Nonaryan Kirātas with the foreigners.

On an examination of the casts, I found that their original is an intaglio which is remarkable from several points of view. Of course, a seal in the precious stone called *sphaṭika* (crystal) is not so striking, since ancient Indian seals made of precious stones are available to us.[1] But the king, for whom the object was originally made and whose portrait it bears, was a thoroughly Indianised foreigner who seems to have ruled over some region not very far from East Malwa about the third century A.D., and, though his name, as found in the inscription the crystal bears, is as yet unknown from any other source, his portrait above the writing is unique in its beautiful execution and artistic excellence. Indeed such a beautiful portrait of an early Indian king is unknown to the student of ancient Indian art.

Unfortunately, to do justice to the portrait and the two-line inscription, one helping in explaining the other in certain respects, is not an easy task, especially because the meaning of the second line of the latter, as it reads, is not satisfactorily clear.

On the casts, the scooped out section looks like the inside of one-third of a big egg-shell cut lengthwise and has the maximum depth of 1.1 cm. It bears an inscription in two lines in the lower part, its upper area being occupied by the upper half of the body of a king standing against an arched window. On the casts, the writing, etc., are in relievo and the figure is in bas-relief. The case of course must be the opposite with the original.

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[1] For a cornelian seal, see *CII*, Vol. II, Part i, p. 7, Plate I, No. 4. For prisms of crystal bearing inscription, cf. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, Calcutta reprint, p. 145.

The crystal intaglio with the negative writing of its legend was thus not meant for itself being used as a seal but for being utilised in producing *abhijñānas* or tokens with positive writing.

The horizontal sil of the window exhibits a pattern of what looks somewhat like a series of St. Andrew's crosses and reminds us of the collar of some of the Śaka kings of Western India as noticed in their portrait on the coins. The top part of two thin bird (Garuḍa) columns rises above the window sil in the left and right, while the lower ends of the arch of the window rest on the heads of the birds. The arch is made of a shaft which has on it a series of small decorative semi-ovals, each of which has another minute semi-oval in it. The window with the human figure reminds us of an image on a terracotta or metal plaque or a stele having a similar ornamental border called *chaḷā* in the case of metallic plaques bearing icons and of the *cāl-citra* of the modern Durgā images made for autumnal worship in Bengal.

The most interesting thing in the architectural motif discussed above is the Garuḍa columns, the lower parts of which have not been represented owing apparently to the space being covered by the inscription. The Garuḍa design suggests that the motif is certainly Indian and not foreign.

The royal figure is shown from slightly below the waist line where the *dhotī* is tied beneath the navel. The body is turned a little towards the proper left, while the face is further turned towards the left. Only the right brow and eye are visible. In its section on painting, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* describes a posture called *ardha-vilocana* or *adhy-ardhākṣa* which is understood to mean the face shown in profile and the body in three-quarter profile.[1]

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[1] S. Kramrisch, *The Viṣṇudharmottara*, pp. 9, 45.

The bulky figure engraved on the crystal illustrates the Indian conception of male beauty—*vyūḍh-orasko vṛṣa-skandhaḥ śāla-prāṁśur=mahā-bhujaḥ.*[1] The features are heavy. The throat is not seen ; the end of the chin is globular. The right eye and eye-brow, which only are visible, are respectively big and thin, while the nose is long and pointed but not acquiline. The left arm is bent at an angle, with the elbow seemingly resting on the Garuḍa figure on that side and the fingers hanging downwards. The right arm is also bent ; but the thumb and the fingers, bent inwards, rest on the upper right waist. The pose is quite imposing. As indicated above, the figure illustrates a posture which follows a convention recognised by ancient Indian artists.

Besides the upper fringe of the *dhotī* tied to the waist, only two other pieces of cloth are noticed on the royal figure. The first of these is the *uttarīya* which comes from the backside to the left shoulder, descends towards the right waist, goes again up by the back side to the left shoulder and descends towards the left waist after a bend on the left chest where it passes underneath its first section. The body is otherwise bare. This dress is of course purely Indian. But the third piece of cloth on the figure is the diadem elaborarely tied behind the head with its two ends flying over the king's back. The diadem has almost the same width as the *uttarīya.*

What is of exceptional interest is that the diadem points to the foreign nationality of the person in question. It was worn by royal personages and certain dignitaries in Western Asia and the neighbourhood and, in India, the royal bust is often depicted with the diadem on the coins of the Indo-Greek rulers while the king is sometimes seen with the diadem on the coins of the other foreigners who ruled after the Greeks. It formed no part of the proper Indian dress, but was regarded by the Indians as an element of the *udīcya-veśa*,[1] i.e. the dress of the foreign settlers of the Uttarāpatha divison of India. (i.e. the land beyond the East Punjab up to the valleys of the Oxus and the Jaxartes in Certral Asia). The earliest illustration of the *udīcya-veśa* is noticed in a Barhut sculpture of about the first century B.C., the figure being represented as wearing the diadem as well as a coat and high boots.[2] An essential feature of this dress is that the body is covered by garments, while the Indians proper generally kept the upper part of the body bare. Thus the dress of the royal figure under study, containing both Indian and foreign elements, suggests that he was a thoroughly Indianised foreigner. The king's bare body indicates that he lived outside Uttarāpatha in some neighbouring region of Northern, Central or Western India.

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[1] *Raghuvaṁśa*, I. 13.

The fairly thick moustache above the upper lip of the figure protrudes a little beyond the corner of the mouth; but the beard is shaved off. A long and thick patch of hair is found below the temple, its lower part being shaved off and ending in a horizontal line.[3] The hair on the head is long and profuse and the end of the locks appears to be hidden in an upward curl. As we have seen above, the Indians of old kept long hair and dressed it in various styles.

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[1] Cf. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, LVIII. 46.

[2] B. M. Barua, *Barhut*, Book III, Plate LXII, figure 71.

[3] Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s. v. *kāka-pakṣa*. This fashion of shaving the beard was popular with the Rajputs of the medieval age. See V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, Part II, 1920, p. 355 (Rāṇā Pratāpasiṁha); p. 373 (Rājā Bīrbal); etc. Śivājī (*ibid.*, p. 426) has a lock of hair and not a patch of the type we are speaking of.

Among the ornaments worn by the king depicted on the crystal, we notice those for the head, ear, neck, arms and wrists. The ear-ornament is made of a longish bead hanging from a pendant on either side. While the ornaments for the wrists and the neck are of the ring type, those for the arms and the head are of the fixing or fastening type.[1] The ends of the knob at the joint of the neck-ring can be seen on the upper part of the right chest. The arm-ornament is of a big and elaborate design and covers the major part of the upper side of both the arms. The head-dress, which is not a head-cover or a ring-type crown, seems to consist of several round ornaments and a chain of beads, which are all joined with one another and the whole thing fixed on the hair. The diadem runs immediately below the head-dress which does not cover the hair at the back of the head. Even on the part under the head-dress, the hair can be seen here and there. The ornaments, especially that on the arms, appear to be typically Indian.

The most important feature of the inscription in two lines, in which the letters are boldly and beautifully fashioned in relief below the figure described above, is that the characters are box-headed. The box-headed script which exhibits South Indian element in a considerable degree, is usually called the Central Indian alphabet and, among Northern records, is found fully developed in the inscription of Sumudragupta (c. 335-76 A.D.) at Eran and of Candragupta II (376-413 A.D.) at Udayagiri,[2] both in

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[1] The fastening type ornaments are often noticed in the Ajanta paintings.

[2] G. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, Calcutta reprint, p. 101. For the inscriptions, see *CII*, Vol. III, Plate II, A and B.

East Malwa, though the alphabet of our record appears to be earlier than the Gupta epigraphs in question. The box-headed alphabet is also used in the records of the Vākāṭakas of Berar, the Śarabhapurīyas and Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of the Chhattisgadh region, the Kadambas of Kuntala and others. But there is less likelihood of the provenance of the crystal under reference being any of those areas, since they are far removed from Uttarāpatha. Amongst the places associated with the use of this alphabet, East Malwa is the nearest to Uttarāpatha. Thus the provenance of the crystal may not be far away form East Malwa. The most important letter in the epigraph is *m* (occurring three times) which has a triangular base, the triangularity being more rigid than in the form of the letter in the Southern alphabet, the like of which is not usually found in the records of the Gupta age written in the Northern script. The rigidly triangular form of the letter *v* (occurring twice) is also earlier than its shape found generally in the inscriptions of the Gupta period. While, on the basis of these letters, the epigraph may be assigned to an early date, there are some later traits besides the box-head referred to above. Thus the subscript *y* ends in a longer upward stroke than is normally expected in the records of the Kuṣāṇa age (even though there are a few exceptions),[1] while the upward vertical stroke forming medial *ā* in *jā* turns horizontally to the right, a development apparently out of a rightward curve in which the vertical is often seen to have ended in a flourish in the records of the Gupta age.[2] The left limb of the tripartite *y* is almost as high as the central and right limbs. These features would suggest a date not much earlier than the fourth century A.D. Considering therefore both the earlier and later palaeographical features of the writing, we may assign the crystal roughly to the third century, and this date, as will be seen below, seems to be supported by some other considerations.

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[1] Cf. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions* (ed. K. L. Janert), p. 295, No. 94, line 4 (*asyāṁ*).

[2] See, e.g., Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prācīn Lipimālā*, Plate XVII (Bilsad); Cf. Bühler's Table IV, Column 41 (VIII, X).

The inscription is written in Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit as is the case with most of the Mathura inscriptions of the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa age and the epigraphic and numismatic records of the Sakas of Ujjayinī flourishing from the second to the fourth century A.D.[1] There is a grammatical error in the use of *śrīḥ* for *śrī°* in line 1, while Prakrit influence is noticed in the word *ratana* for Sanskrit *ratna* in line 2. The inscription also contains a foreign name with an un-Indian sound as will be seen below.

The first five syllables of the record in the first half of line 1 read *śrīrmahārājā* which is a mistake for *śrī-Mahārāj-Ā°*. We have a number of instances of the same grammatical error in early epigraphic records, e.g., *sarvaścaṇḍavīrātisṛṣṭarājyasya* for *Sarva-Caṇḍavīr-ātisṛṣṭa-rājyasya* in a Mathura Museum inscription of the time of Huviṣka (second century A.D.),[2] *śrīścaṇḍeśvarahastinā* for *śrī-Caṇḍēśvarahastinā* in the Salri inscription (about the fourth century A.D.)[3] and *śrīrmmālavagaṇāmnāte* for *śrī-Mālava-gaṇ-āmnāte* and *śrīrmahārājanaravarmmaṇi* for *śrī-Mahārāja-Naravarmmaṇi* in a Mandasor inscription of 404 A.D.[4] It is of course difficult to say whether the question of the age and provenance of the crystal can be linked with those of the above inscriptions.

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[1] See, e.g., *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 118-19, 132-34, 140-41, 144-52, 156-69, 175 ff.

[2] Cf. Lüders, *op. cit.*, pp. 138 ff. His suggestion that the names in the Salri and Mathura Museum inscriptions are respectively Ścaṇḍeśvarahastin and Ścaṇḍavīra does not take into account similar other cases and is no doubt wrong.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 68.

[4] See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 377-78, text lines 1 and 5.

The last four syllables in the latter half of line 1 read °*varighsasya*, the reading of the whole line therefore being *śrī-rma*(*Ma*)*harāj-Āvarighsasya*, 'of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Avarighsa (or, Āvarighsa).' Thus the passage speaks of a ruler bearing the foreign name Avarighsa (or, Āvarighsa) and the Indian royal title *Mahārāja*. The foreign origin of the king is thus not only indicated by his diademed head but also by his un-Indian name.

It is well known that the son and successor of the Śaka ruler Rudradāman I (c. 130-55 A.D.) of Ujjayinī, who ruled in c. 155-75 A.D., bore a name in which a foreign sound is represented by *ghs*. Rapson says, "In the transliteration of the foreign name Dāmaghsada, which is borne by Rudradāman's son and successor and by two later members of the dynasty, it is possible in the case of these to trace three stages. Originally the latter portion of the name appears as *ghsada*, which may possibly be an attempt to express the Persian *zāda*, 'a son.' The un-Indian combination of the consonants *ghs* is next supplanted by the Indian *j*; but, as the result *jada* is still no proper Sanskrit or Prakrit word, it is further Indianised by the addition of *śrī*. This form (i.e. Dāmajadaśrī) is exclusively used by the second and third bearers of the name."[1] The name of the foreign ruler, mentioned in the inscription on the crystal, may be related to an expression like Persian *av-rīz*, 'dropping of water.' It may thus be *Avarighsa* = *Avarīza* = *Avrīz*.

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[1] *Catalogue*, p. cxxii. The name of Ghsāmotika, the great-great-grandfather of Dāmaghsada I, may also be remembered in this connection. The Sanskrit and Prakrit forms for Persian *zāda* seem to be *jāta* and *jāda*.

It has to be noticed that Dāmaghsada = Dāmajada I of the Saka family of Ujjayinī first transliterated the un-Indian sound of *z* by *ghs* and finally by *j*. Since the representation of *z* by *ghs* was becoming obsolete with the Sakas of Ujjayinī as early as the latter half of the second century A.D., it is difficult to assign king Avarighsa of our inscription, who adopted the earlier method in transliterating apparently the same foreign sound and does not appear to have flourished very far away from the Śaka dominions, to a date much later than the second century A.D. This may be regarded as an evidence in favour of assigning the inscription roughly to the third century A.D.

Seal inscriptions generally refer to a person, office, institution, etc., in the sixth case-ending and rarely in the first case-ending or without any case-ending at all. It would therefore have been normal if our record would have stopped with the first line of writing. In that case it would have meant, "[This is the seal] of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Avarighsa," and we could have supposed that the costly crystal intaglio was made for the use of an important representative of the king like a Minister Plenipotenciary. Unfortunately, the inscription has a second line of writing, the meaning of which is not quite clear.

Line 2 of the inscription reads *vāmaratanāyama* in which *ratana*, as indicated above, apparently stands for Sanskrit *ratna*. Of course, the word *vāma* may be taken to mean 'adverse' or 'dear' in this context, so that *vāma-ratna* would mean 'a dear or favourite jewel' or 'an adverse jewel.' In that case, the whole inscription would speak something in respect of a jewel of *Mahārāja* Avarighsa, no doubt meaning the crystal bearing the epigraph. But, as it stands, *vāmaratanāyama* does not offer any sense.

Particular precious stones were regarded as auspicious or inauspicious bearing good or evil to particular kings who were therefore advised to get their luck respecting jewels examined by experts.[1] *Sphaṭika* or crystal, one of the important jewels,[2] is stated to have been produced in the Kavera, Vindhya, Yavana, Cīna and Nepāla countries and considered the best among jewels for the purpose of destroying sin.[3] Auspicious stones were often fixed in ornaments and worn, though a lot of them were preserved in the royal treasury.[4] But the nature of the crystal under study and the negative inscription it bears would suggest that it was meant neither for wearing nor for preservation in the treasury, but for the preparation of tokens by the king's representatives. Is it then possible to think that the intaglio was made for the use of three of king Avarighsa's high officers named Vāma, Ratna and Ayama (Sanskrit *Aryaman*) ?[5] If such was the case, the occasion, on which the services of the three officers were demanded, must have been an important one.

The most important problems regarding the crystal relate to the age and nationality of king Avarighsa and the area over which he ruled. As regards the age and area, we have seen that he probably flourished in a region not far away from East Malwa about the third century A.D. Among the records of the foreigners found in East Malwa and belonging to dates between the second and the fourth century A.D., mention has to be made of the Sanchi inscription of the Kuṣāṇa emperor Vāsiṣka (beginning of the second century) and the Sanchi and Eran inscriptions of the Śaka ruler Śrīdharavarman (third century A.D.)[6]

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[1] *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, LXXX. 1.

[2] Cf. *ibid.*, verses 4-5.

[3] *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, Part I, LXXIX. 1 and 3.

[4] *Ibid.*, LXVIII. 13; LXXIX. 14; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 173, text line 14.

[5] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 166, No. 62, text line 2.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 144-45, 180-81; *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 13 ff., 605 ff.

who is called *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* in a record of his thirteenth regnal year but *Rājan* and *Mahākṣatrapa* in another epigraph of the twentyseventh year of his rule. It may be that Srīdharavarman was at first a military governor of East Malwa under some ruler but threw off the latter's yoke at a later date. What relations the Śaka *Mahākṣatrapas* of Ujjayinī (sometimes called *Mahārāja* by their contemporaries) had with East Malwa in the third century A.D. and with Śaka Śrīdharavarman, who flourished in the said area and age, is not quite clear. Ākara (East Malwa) was conquered by the Śātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (c. 106-30 A.D.) from the Kṣaharāta-Śaka *Mahākṣatrapa* Nahapāna (119-24 A.D.), but was reconquered by the Kārdamaka-Śaka rulers Caṣṭana and Rudradāman from the same Śātavāhana king within a short period.[1] Thus, on the decline of the Kuṣāṇa empire, the Śakas began to hold sway over Western India together with East Malwa. *Mahārāja* Avarighsa does not appear to have any place in the known genealogy of the Ujjayinī Śakas whose records are written in the Southern alphabet. Śrīdharavaman's inscriptions are also written in Southern characters which appear to be somewhat earlier than the epigraph under study. Under the circumstances, it may possibly be conjectured that *Mahārāja* Avarighsa established himself for a short time in the East Malwa region at the expense of the Śakas of Ujjayinī. He may have been a Śaka, though the title *Mahārāja* instead of the expected *Mahākṣatrapa* is rather striking. Can it be further conjectured that Śrīdharavarman, first a semi-independent governor and later an independent ruler, extirpated Avarighsa or his family originally on behalf of the Śakas of Ujjayinī ?

The dress and name of *Mahārāja* Avarighsa raise the interesting problem of the Indianisation of the foreign settlers of this country, to which reference has been made above.

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[1] Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 182-83, 202-02.

CHAPTER IV

YAVANA AND PĀRASĪKA

I

In the medieval literature of India, the word *Yavana* is used as a synonym of *Mleccha* and indicates any foreigner. The medieval epigraphic records represent the Indo-Muslim rulers often as Yavana and sometimes as Śaka or even Yavana-Saka.[1] As late as the early centuries of the Christian era, however, by *Yavana*, the Indians understood the Greeks only. It was derived from Old Persian *Yauna* meaning originally the Ionian Greeks and, later, all people of Greek nationality. The Greeks settled in Ionia in Asia Minor, between Lydia and the Aegean sea , must have been in contact with the people of North-Western India since the time of Darius I (522-486 B.C.) as both were subjects of the Achaemenian emperors of Persia.

The employment of Scylax of Caryanda in Caria by Darius, about the close of the sixth century B.C., for exploring the route from the Punjab rivers to the Persian Gulf and of Indian archers in Xerxes' army that was defeated at the battle of Plataea in 479 B.C. indicates that the people at least of the Uttarāpatha division of India had direct knowledge of the Greeks from the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. It is thus not improbable that Greek and Indian officers in the service of the Achaemenian emperors as well as tradesmen of the empire belonging to the two nationalities often met one another at the big cities of the Achaemenians. While Greek officers and soldiers are known to have been an important element in the Achaemenian administration, classical traditions of the fourth century B.C. regarding the Greek colony at Nysa in the valley of the Koh-i-Mor may probably be explained by suggesting employment of Greeks in the Indian provinces of the Achaemenian empire.[1] In this connection, it is interesting to note that the very word *Yauna* is used in the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 207. 43), its Sanskritised and Prakritised forms *Yavana* and *Yona* being traced for the first time respectively in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*[2] (c. fifth century B.C.) and the inscriptions of Aśoka (c. 272-232 B.C.).[3]

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[1] Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 764, 859, 926, etc.

The conquest of North-Western India in 327-325 B.C. and the foundation of a number of cities by Alexander in the occupied territory led to the intimate association between the Greeks and the Indians, since the cities were partially peopled by the Greek followers of the conqueror.[4] The Greek element in one of the Alexandrias in Uttarāpatha remained conspicuous for a long time even after the inclusion of the area in the empire of Candragupta Maurya (c. 324-298 B.C.).

The stories of the Maurya occupation of North-Western India, the foundation of the Seleucid empire on the ruins of the Achaemenian empire overthrown by Alexander and the surrender of parts of Uttarāpatha by Seleucus to

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[1] Cf. Smith, *Early History of India*, 1924, pp. 55-56.

[2] IV. 1. 49 ; cf. the Vārttika *Yāvanāl=lipyām* for the formation of the word *Yavanānī* in the sense of the writing of the Greeks.

[3] Rock Edicts II and XIII.

[4] Cf. Alexandria amongst the Arachosians (modern Kandahar), Alexandria under the Caucasus (near Kabul), Boucephala and Nicaea (both near modern Jhelum), Alexandria at the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus), Sogdian Alexandria (in Northern Sind) and Alexander's Haven (near the principal mouth of the Indus).

Candragupta Maurya are well known. For a century between Seleucus' trial of strength with Candragupta about 305 B.C. and the expedition against North-Western India led by Antiochus III about 206 B.C., the relations between India and the Seleucid empire were very cordial. The Yona subjects of Aśoka mentioned in his edicts and his Yavana governor of Kathiawar mentioned in the Junagadh inscription of 150 A.D.[1] appear to have been inhabitants of Afghanistan. In the records of Aśoka and very often in early Indian literature, the Yonas or Yavanas are mentioned along with the Kāmbojas, and the Greek and Aramaic versions of Aśoka's edict at Shar-i-Kuna (near Kandahar, the ancient 'Alexandria amongst the Arachosians') are believed to have been meant respectively for the Greek and Kāmboja subjects of the emperor, the latter apparently being Iranian autochthons of Afghanistan and its neighbourhood.[2] Alexandria near Kabul seems to be mentioned in the Pali literature as Alasanda and the district around it sometimes as the *dīpa* (*dvīpa=doāb*) of Alasanda.[3]

The Erragudi, Kalsi, Mansehra and Girnar versions of Rock Edict XIII contain a statement to the effect that there were no Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas in the Yona country while the *Majjhimanikāya* (II. 149) also states that, in the land of the Yonas and Kāmbojas, there were only two social grades, viz. Ārya and Dāsa, and not the traditional *catur-varṇa* classification of the society as prevalent in other parts of India. But, as early as the time of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (on Pāṇini, II. 4. 10), the Yavanas and the Śakas were regarded as *aniravasita* or pure Śūdra in the Indian social system and, a little later, the *Manusmṛti* (X. 44)

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1. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 171.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXXII, p. 7.
3. Cf. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, s.v.

regarded both the peoples as degraded Kṣatriya.[1] There is no doubt an apparent discrepancy between the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Manusmṛti*, though the social position of the pure Śūdra and the degraded Kṣatriya would practically be the same. The references appear to be to the Greeks of the Afghanistan region, who established themselves in the north-western areas of India about the beginning of the second century B.C. These Greeks gradually became Indianised by the adoption of Indian names, customs and religious beliefs and were ultimately merged in the Indian population.

II

In an interesting paper on the question of Zoroastrian influence on early Buddhism in *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume* (Bombay, 1930), E. J. Thomas offered some suggestions regarding the interpretation of the term *Yavana* in Indian inscriptions and literature. It is generally believed that *Yavana* originally signified the Greeks, but that later it was used to mean all foreigners. Thomas however thinks it to be 'an unnecessary assumption that the term must have first meant *Greek* to the Indians' (p. 212) and considers it to be unlikely 'that Indians could have distinguished the Yavanas from the Persians as specially Greek.' "It is more probable," he says, "that they learnt the name from the Yavana forces with whom they came in contact, and that they applied the name to all foreigners whose military power was represented by these Yavanas, that is, to the Persians generally" (pp. 282-83). As a sequel to these views of his, Thomas has been constrained to think that Aṁtiyoka (Antiochus II Theos of Syria) has been called *Yona-rāja* (*i.e.* a Yavana king) in the second and thirteenth rock edicts of Aśoka, because he was 'the chief ruler of what remained of the ancient Persian empire' (p. 282). Thomas thus seems to think that the word *Yavana*, from the earliest times, meant 'foreigner,' and not 'Greek' specially, and that the Indians never distinguished the Yavanas from the Persians. There is, however, evidence to show that neither of these two suggestions is justifiable.[1]

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[1] Note that, while Manu ascribes their degradation to the gradual giving up of prescribed duties, the *Harivaṁśa* (I. 15. 12 ff.), *Vāyu Purāṇa* (88. 136 ff.), etc., state that the Yavanas and some other Kṣatriyas were compelled to change their *dharma* and *veśa* as a result of their defeat at the hands of the Ikṣvāku king Sagara.

As regards the first point, we must note that the Persian or any other foreign tribe is *never* known to have been called *Yavana* in the early literature and records of India.[2] It is, on the other hand definitely known from a number of instances that the term *Yavana* denoted the

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[1] D. R. Bhandarkar holds (*Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 16-17, 519 ff) that 'in early times Yavana always denoted the Greeks, but from the second century A. D. onwards, it seems to have been used to denote the Persians.' As we shall see below, this theory is equally untenable. For the evidence of the *Raghuvaṃśa* and the Junagadh inscription, see below. The reference to the Yavanas in the seventh century work *Harṣacarita* in connection with Kākavarṇa, son of Śiśunāga, proves nothing.

[2] It may be argued that since Tuṣāspha, who was Aśoka's governor in Surāṣṭra, had a Persian name, but has been called *Yavana-rāja* in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman (*c.* 130-50 A.D.), the word *Yavana* in this case means a Persian. Names however can hardly be taken as proof of nationality. *Vāsudeva*, the name assumed by a great Kuṣāṇa king about the end of the second century A.D., is an Indian name; but the Kuṣāṇa king's family was not certainly indigenous to India. Many early Indian inscriptions, moreover, mention Yavanas bearing Hindu names, *e.g.*, *Yavana Caṃda* (Candra) in Lüders' List, No. 1156.

Greeks. Aṁtiyoka being called *Yona-rāja* may be explained away, as he was 'the chief ruler of what remained of the ancient Persian empire.' But that *Yavana* meant 'Greek' is perfectly established by the evidence furnished by the *Mahāvaṁsa*, *Milindapañha* and the Besnagar pillar inscription of Heliodorus.

Some *gāthās* of the *Mahāvaṁsa* (XXIX. 30 ff.) give a list of countries and cities among which we get Yona-nagara-Alasanda (*i.e.* Alexandria, the city of the Yavanas). Alasanda has been identified with Alexandria, founded by Alexander the Great near Kabul.[1] Alasanda = Alexandria can hardly be a Persian town. According to the *Milindapañha*, Milinda, who has been identified with the celebrated Indo-Greek king Menander, was born at Kalasīgāma in the *dipa*[2] of Alasanda.' This Milinda = Menander is said to have had his capital at Sāgala, modern Sialkot in the Punjab.[3] Again, in another passage, this Sāgalanagara is said to have belonged to the Yavanas.[4] Next we should note that the Besnagar pillar inscription mentions a *Yona-dūta* (*i.e.* Yavana envoy), named Heliodora (Heliodorus), son of Diya (Dion), who was an inhabitant of Takkhasilā (Takṣaśilā, Greek *Taxila*) and was sent by *Mahārāja* Aṁtalikita (Antialcidas) to the court of the Śuṅga king Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra[5] who ruled about the latter half of the second century B.C.[6] The Greek names of the *Yona-dūta* and his father as well as of the king who sent him leave no doubt that the word *Yona* (*Yavana*) was used to mean the Greeks. Aṁtalikita of the inscription is evidently the Indo-Greek king named Antialcidas whose coins with both Greek and Indian legends have been discovered in the Punjab.[1] The possible reference to *Yavanarāja* Dimita in relation to Mathurā in the Hāthigumphā inscription[2] may also be noticed in this connection.[3]

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[1] *Op. cit.*, Geiger's ed., p. 194.

[2] Alasanda or Alasandā often mentioned as a city, appears here as a territory *Dīpa* (Sanskrit *dvīpa=doāb*) appears to mean a district between two rivers. See above, p. 65.

[3] I. 9 : *Jaṃbudīpe Sāgala-nagare Milindo nāma rājā ahosi.*

[4] I 2 : *atthi Yonakānāṃ nānāpuṭabhedanaṃ Sāgalan=nāma nagaraṃ.*

[5] Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 157.

[6] Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed , p. 238, note.

There is moreover evidence to show that the term *Yavana* was borrowed by the Indians directly from their Persian neighbours. The Persians became acquainted with the Greeks chiefly through the Ionian colonists whom they called *Yauna* (Ionian). This term occurs in the inscriptions of Darius in a wider sense to signify the Greeks or people of Greek origin generally. As indicated above, the Persian word *Yauna* was borrowed by the Indians, the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 207. 43), for example, having :

Uttarāpatha-janmānaḥ kīrtayiṣyāmi tān = api ।
Yauna-Kāmboja-Gandhārāḥ Kirātā Barbaraiḥ saha ॥

We have already stated that *Yavana* is only a Sanskritised form of *Yauna* of which the real Prakrit form is *Yona*.

If the Indians learnt the use of the word from the Persians, it is hardly reasonable to suppose that they used it in an entirely different sense. It is possible that, from the time of the Persian occupation of North-Western India (*i.e.* from the sixth century B.C.) and probably from still earlier times,[4] the people of that part of India had commercial relations[1] with Persia. It is therefore very probable that Indian merchants who visited the bazaars of Persia for purposes of merchandise came into contact with Greek merchants and called them Yauna in imitation of the people of that country.

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[1] Smith, *Catalogue of Coins*, pp. 15-16.

[2] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 208.

[3] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 84, note 31.

[4] Arrian says (Chinnock's ed., p. 399) that 'the district west of the river Indus as far as the river Cophen is inhabited by the Astacenians and the Assacenians, Indian tribes. These were in ancient times subject to the Assyrians, afterwards to the Medes, and finally they submitted to the Persians and paid tribute to Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, as ruler of their land.' Scholars like Ludwig, Hillebrandt and Weber think that the Persians were known to the Indians as *Parśavaḥ* as early as the time of the *Ṛgveda*. See Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, pp. 504-05 (*parśu*) and pp. 521-22 (*pārthava*) ; see also *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 322 and notes.

As regards the second supposition of Thomas, it may be said that, in early Indian literature and records, the Yavanas are not only distinguished from other foreign tribes but are mentioned side by side also with the Pārasīkas, *i.e.* the Persians. The Nasik inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi's nineteenth regnal year mentions the Yavanas along with the Śakas and the Pahlavas who are said to have been routed by the Śātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (*c.* 106-30 A.D.). The *Rāmāyaṇa* (I. 54. 21) distinguishes the Yavanas from other foreign tribes in passages like *S′akān=Yavana-miśritān* (*i.e.* Śakas who had the Yavanas with them).[2] In the *Purāṇas*,[3] the following foreign tribes are said to have belonged to the Udīcya country : (1) Yavana, (2) Śaka, (3) Darada, (4) Tuṣāra and (5) Pahlava. According to the *Mahābhārata* (V. 19), the Kāmboja king Sudakṣiṇa marshalled Yavana and Śaka forces at the great battle of Kurukṣetra. In works like the *Mahābhārata* (VI. 9), moreover, the Yavanas (Greeks) and the Pārasīkas (Persians) are *separately* mentioned as peoples living in the Udīcya-deśa. Cf.

Yavanāś=Cīna-Kāmbojā dāruṇā Mleccha-jātayaḥ |
Sakṛdgrahāḥ Kulatthāś=ca Hūṇāḥ Pārasikaiḥ saha ||

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[1] As pointed out above, there seem to have been political relations as well. Indian soldiers in the Persian army are known to have fought on Greek soil, while the Greeks too worked for the Persians in India (Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., p. 40).

[2] See also *Harivaṁśa*, I. 15. 12 :
Tataḥ Śakān=sa-Yavanān=Kāmbojān=Pāradāṁs=tathā |
Pahlavāṁś=c=aiva niḥśeṣān=kartuṁ vyavasitas=tadā ||

[3] *E.g.*, *Vāyu*, 46. 105-21 ; see also 88. 122.

Rapson says[1] that the word *Yavana* denoted the Greeks 'in the Indian literature and inscriptions of the last three centuries before and the first two centuries after the Christian era.' The latest extremity, however, must be pushed at least up to the age of Kālidāsa who is supposed to have lived in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. and to that of Viśākhadatta who lived still later. It is generally believed that, while describing Raghu's victorious campaign in the western countries, Kālidāsa identifies the Yavanas with the Pārasīkas. This belief is based on a wrong interpretation of verses 60-64 of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto IV, where, as a matter of fact, the poet clearly distinguishes the country of the Pārasīkas from that of the Yavanas. In verse 60, Raghu is said to have started from the Aparānta (Northern Koṅkaṇ) and to have gone by the *sthala-vartma* (land-route) to conquer the Pārasīkas. The king had a strong navy[2] and could have easily sailed from the Aparānta coast to the Persian shore. Why, then, did he go by the land-route ? The answer is to be found in the next verse wherein we are told that Raghu was jealous, as it were, of the merry-making of the Yavana girls. The host of Raghu's forces is here very happily compared with *a-kāla-jalad-odaya*. Verse 61 thus clearly suggests that in going to Persia from the Northern Koṅkaṇ, Raghu had to cross the country of the Yavanas with whom he had no mind to fight.[3] Just as clouds temporarily prevent the lotuses from enjoying the sun, Raghu with his large army passed through the Yavana country frightening the Yavana girls and causing temporary cessation of their merry-making.[1] The case of the Yavana girls may be compared with that of the Kerala women who were running this way and that way in extreme fright when, starting from the Pāṇḍya country, Raghu was marching through Kerala with a view to conquering the Aparānta.

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[1] *Ancient India*, p. 86.

[2] Cf. verse 36 which describes Raghu's fight with the Vaṅgas.

[3] Cf. verses 38 and 54 which describe Raghu's march through Utkala and Kerala without fighting with the inhabitants of those countries. It may be supposed that these countries were ruled not by independent kings but by feudatory rulers.

In the passage *asti tāvac=Chaka-Yavana-Kirāta-Kāmboja-Pārasika-Bāhlika-prabhṛtiḥ* of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, Act II, Viśākhadatta also distinguishes the Yavanas from the Pārasīkas. Another passage of the same type in an earlier work is *Śaka-Yavana-Tuṣāra-Pārasīkaiḥ* in the *Pādatāḍitkabhāṇa* ascribed to the beginning of the fifth century A.D.[2] In the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (XIV. 17-18), Varāhamihira mentions the Pāraśavas along with the Śūdras, Yavanas, Ambaṣṭhas, Kambojas and Sindhu-Sauvīras. It is not impossible that Pāraśava

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1. I am indebted for the suggestion to the late Prof. H.C. Raychaudhuri. Raghu did not fight with the Yavanas, but was going through their country to fight with the Pārasīkas who lived further west (cf. *pāścātyaiḥ* in verse 62). But the very appearance of his large army in the Yavana country was sufficient to cause terror in the hearts of the inhabitants. The poet says that Raghu could have avoided this, but that, as he wanted jealously, as it were, to put a stop to the merry-making of the Yavanīs, he purposely preferred the land-route. In interpreting verses 59-65 of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, V. Venkayya also separated the Yavanas from the Pārasīkas. For his interpretation, see *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A.R., 1906-07, p. 218, note 1. See also Bühler, *Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry* (p. 40) in *Ind. Ant.*, 1913. These may be the Yavanas defeated by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi along with the Śakas and Pahlavas. The Yavanas were probably ruling at Sañjayapura (modern Sanjan) in the third century A. D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 199).

. See *J.R.A.S.*, 1946, p. 51.

here signifies the Persians. Vākpati (8th century A.D.), author of the *Gaüḍavaha*, mentions the Pārasīkas in the list of peoples conquered by his master and hero, Yaśovarman of Kanauj.[1]

Evidence thus shows that the Yavanas were generally distinguished from the Persians and other foreign tribes by the Indians in ancient times even as late as the sixth century A. D. and that therefore the Persians and Yavanas were not identical in the early period.

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1. Bühler, *loc. cit.*

CHAPTER V

TĀJIKA

I

According to the Nausari plates[1] of Kalacuri 490 (739 A.D.), Pulakeśin Avanijanāśraya, the viceroy of Gujarat, received from the Cālukya emperor of Bādāmi some titles for repulsing a Tājika army which, after destroying the Saindbava, Kacchella, Surāṣṭra, Cāvo[tka*]ṭaka, Maurya and Gurjara kings, had come to reduce Navasārikā with a view to penetrating into Dakṣiṇāpatha. There is no doubt that these Tājikas were the Arabs who had established themselves in Sind early in the eighth century A.D. Arab merchants are known to have frequented the ports and market-towns in the western and southern parts of India from before the beginning of the Christian era. There are also several other epigraphic records throwing some light on the Arabs in the dominions of the early medieval kings of Western and Southern India. One of these inscriptions is the Chinchani plates of the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III, published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 45 ff. The village of Chinchani lies in the Dahanu Taluk of the Thana District of Maharashtra.

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[1] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1220. *Tājika* is spelt as *Tāyika* in an inscription of king Ratnapāla (eleventh century) of Assam who claims to have been a terror to the Vāhıkas and Tāyikas (Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 96), while the Sanskrit lexicons of the early medieval period also recognise the spelling *Tarjika* (*ibid*., p. 105,note 5). See also Monier-Williams' *Sans.-Eng. Dict*. in which *Tājika*=*Tāyika*=*Tarjika* is explained as a Persian word,but *tājaka* as the name of certain astronomical works translated from Arabic and Persian. This is because *Tājik* (also *Tājīk*) is explained in Persian lexicons as meaning 'one who is not an Arab or Turk ; a Persian ; a person of Arabian origin brought up in Persia [or elsewhere].' In Sanskrit, the word *Tājika* seems to have been used in the last of the three senses. Cf. also the Persian word *Tāzī* meaning 'Arabian, the Arabic language, Arabian [horse],' etc. A Chinese account represents the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman II (c. 700-25 A.D.) as ready to chastise the Ta-che (Tājika) people (*The Classical Age*, ed. Majumdar, p. 380). For the Hijrī era called Tājikīya-saṁvat, see Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 309, note.

The date of the charter is quoted in lines 58-60 as Saka 848, Vyaya, Vaiśākha-śudi. 3, Akṣata-tṛtīyā (*i.e.* Akṣaya-tṛtīyā), Monday. The details correspond to the 17th April, 926 A. D.

The inscription begins with an introductory section in four stanzas, the first of which is in adoration of Girisutā and Hara (*i.e.* Pārvatī and Śiva). Verse 2 is also in adoration of Durgā, *i.e.* Pārvatī. The sage Agastya is adored in verse 3 and the *Ārya-dēśīyā Mahāparṣad* in verse 4. Since Agastya was regarded as the leader of the Aryanisation of Trans-Vindhyan India, he was an object of special veneration to the Brahmanists of the South. The *Ārya-dēśīyā Mahāparṣad* seems to have been an assembly of learned Brāhmaṇas hailing from what was called Āryāvarta (roughly, India to the north of the Vindhyas) in ancient Indian literature. The contents of the record would suggest that this assembly belonged to the city of Saṁyāna which is the modern Sanjan about 22 miles to the north of the findspot of the inscription. The same assembly is apparently mentioned in lines 29-30 as the *Pañca-Gauḍiya-Mahāparṣad*.

The next four stanzas (verses 5-8) introduce the Yadu or Yādava dynasty. This section speaks of the moon, his son Purūravas, and his son Āyus. It also mentions Yayāti as one of the imperial rulers born in the said family and

Yadu as the son of Yayāti and the progenitor of the Yadu-vaṁśa. Verse 9 refers to the birth of Govindarāja in the same family, otherwise called the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty.[1] This Govindarāja is the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda I, son of Indra I and grandson of Dantivarman I. The next stanza (verse 10) mentions the following four kings who ruled successively: (1) Kakkarāja (Kakka I), son of Govindarāja; (2) Indrarāja (Indra II), son of Kakkarāja; (3) Dantidurga (Dantivarman II, 742-56 A.D.), son of Indrarāja; and (4) Kṛṣṇarāja (Kṛṣṇa I, 756-75 A.D.), the younger brother of Dantidurga's father. Verse 11 similarly speaks of the following successive rulers of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty: (1) Govindarāja (Govinda II, 775-80 A.D.), son of Kṛṣṇarāja; (2) Dhruvarāja (780-94 A.D.), younger brother of Govindarāja; (3) Jagattuṅga (Govinda III, 794-814 A.D.), son of Dhruvarāja; and (4) Amoghavarṣa (*i.e.* Amoghavarṣa I, 814-78 A.D.), son of Jagattuṅga. Verse 12 not only mentions Kṛṣṇarāja (Kṛṣṇa II, 878-915 A.D.), son and successor of Amoghavarṣa, but also refers to his own successor who was the son of his son named Jagattuṅga. The name of the grandson and successor of Kṛṣṇa II is given in verse 13 as Indrarāja (Indra III,

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[1] That the Rāṣṭrakūṭas did not originally claim the Yādava lineage seems to be suggested by the description of Govinda III in his records. It is stated that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family became unconquerable to its foes owing to the birth of Govinda III just as the Yādava race had been after the birth of Madhuripu, *i.e.* Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 66, verse 11) thereby making a distinction between the two dynasties. The Sanjan plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 243, verse 3) of Amoghavarṣa I, dated 871 A.D., refer to the birth of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda I in the Yadu dynasty thus suggesting the identification of the two families. The Huvīna-Hippargi inscription (862 A. D.) of the same Rāṣṭrakūṭa king mentions Kṛṣṇa I as *Yādav-āṁś-odbhava*, probably meaning an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, the Yādava *par excellence*. Cf. *Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Part i, p. 5, No. 9, text line 1.

915-28 A.D.) while the next stanza (verse 14) describes some of his achievements.

Verses 16-20 introduce a subordinate of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king. It is said that, when Indra III Nityavarṣa was reigning, there was a ruler named Madhumati who belonged to the Tājika (*i.e.* Arab) community, and that he had received the entire *maṇḍala* or territorial division of Saṁyāna from Kṛṣṇarāja (Kṛṣṇa II, 878-915 A.D.). *Madhumati* is no doubt the Sanskritised form of the Arabic name Muḥammad.[1] This Arab chief was thus appointed the governor of Saṁyāna by Kṛṣṇa II and was continuing in his post during the rule of Indra III. It is stated that Madhumati subdued the chiefs of all the harbours (*velākūla*) of the neighbourhood, apparently on behalf of his master, and placed his own officials in them (verse 18). Verse 19 says that Madhumati's other name was Sugatipa and that he was the son of Sahiyārahāra or Hiyārahāra or Yārahāra. Unfortunately it is difficult to determine the Arabic forms of these two names under their Indian garb. Verse 20 says how this Arab governor of Saṁyāna established free ferry on two streams [near Saṁyāna, apparently on the Sanjan river] and also a feeding house [at Saṁyāna] where Śāli rice, curries and ghee were catered free of cost. Verse 21 states that Madhumati-Sugatipa's minister was Puvvaiya.

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1. The same Arabic name is Sanskritized as *Madhumada* in the Panjim plates of Kadamba Jayakēśin I (*c.* 1050-80 A.D.) of Goa. Madhumada is stated to have belonged to the Tājiya (*i.e.* Tājika or Arab) *vaṁśa* and to have been the son of Āliyama and the father of Chaḍama who was a capable and popular administrator under the Kadamba king. See C. P. No. 3 of 1951-52 ; cf. *Quarterly Jouvnal of the Bhārat Itihās Saṁśodhak Maṇḍal* (Marāṭhī), Vol. XXXI, No. 4, pp. 27 ff. ; Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 398 (cf. pp. 172, 185-86).

Verse 22 states that there was a Brāhmaṇa named Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa who was the son of Vāsudēva and belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*. This Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa had a son named Annaiya (later also called Annammaiya) who was a friend of Madhumati-Sugatipa's minister Puvvaiya and an obedient servant of Nityavarṣa (*i.e.* Indra III). Annaiya or Annammaiya constructed a *maṭhikā*, *i.e.* a monastery or temple, at Saṁyāna. The next stanza (verse 23) says that he also created an endowment consisting of landed property with the permission of Nityavarṣa (Indra III). The nature of his endowment is made clear in the following part of the record in prose.

The prose portion in lines 27 ff. states that, at the request of Annammaiya (the same as Annaiya of verse 22) who belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and Maitrāyaṇī *śākhā* and was the son of Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa and grandson of Vāsudēva, Sugatipa *alias* Madhumati made a grant of the village of Kāṇāḍuka situated in the Kolimahāra *viṣaya* within Saṁyāna-maṇḍala together with half a *Dhura* of land in the village of Devīhara with the permission of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Indrarājadeva (Indra III). The *Dhur* is regarded as 1/20 of a *Biswa* which is 1/20 of a *Bighā*. But the word used in our record possibly indicates a bigger area of land. The purpose of the creation of the endowment was that the income accruing to it would be utilised for the repairs of the *maṭhikā* constructed by Annaiya or Annammaiya and also for the offering of *naivedya* to the goddess Daśamī (apparently a form of the Mother-goddess Durgā or Pārvatī often called merely the *Devī* or *Bhagavatī*)[1] and the feeding of nine persons belonging to the *Pañca-Gauḍīya-mahāparṣad* of Saṁyāna. The goddess Daśamī was no doubt worshipped in the *maṭhikā* constructed by Annaiya or Annammaiya. The *Pañca-Gauḍīya mahāparṣad* seems to be the community of Gauḍīya or North Indian Brāhmaṇas settled at Saṁyāna. The five classes of these Brāhmaṇas are called : (1) Sārasvata, (2) Kānyakubja, (3) Gauḍa, (4) Maithila, and (5) Utkala.[1]

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[1] The name of the goddess reminds us that of Saṣṭhī generally worshipped on the sixth day after the delivery of a child or on the sixth *tithi* of a fortnight. It also reminds us of the *tithi* called *Vijayā Daśamī* (Āśvina-śudi 10), famous for its association with the worship of Durgā Pārvatī,

Although it was Annaiya or Annammaiya who created the endowment according to verse 23, the prose part of the record refers to it as one created by the governor of Saṁyāna. This is because the creation of a rent-free holding was the prerogative of the government. The creation of the endowment was declared by the governor at an assemblage of the *Haṁyamana pauras*, *Dhruvas* and *Viṣayikādhikārikas* of Saṁyāna. Of these, the third expression indicates the officers of the various administrative offices of the district round Saṁyāna. The *Dhruvas* were superintendents of the collection of the royal share of the produce of the fields from the farmers.[2] The expression *haṁyamana-paura* (*haṁjamana-nagara-paura*) is met with in some records of the Northern Konkan region, and it has often been understood in the sense of 'the citizens of Haṁyamana, *i. e.* Saṁyāna.'[3] Unfortunately Hiṁyamana cannot be regarded as another form of the name of Saṁyāna since the latter name itself occurs in the compound immediately before *haṁyamana*. J. J. Modi traced the origin of the word to Avestic *hanjamana* and Persian *anjuman* and took it to indicate the settlement of the Parsees.[1] He also thinks that this Parsee colony stood at Sanjan which was therefore called Hañjamana or Haṁyamaṇa. Of course our inscription may refer to the Parsee community of Saṁyāna ; but it does not support the suggestion that Haṁyamana was another name (or another form of the name) of Saṁyāna. In the records quoted by Modi, the reference may be to the Parsees' colonies in different cities of the Northern Konkan and not to a particular city of theirs, since the said charters appear to have had little to do particularly with the town of Sanjan. The expression *haṁyamana* or *hañjamana* is found in Kannaḍa inscriptions as *hañjamana* which is the same as *pañca-vaṇṇa* of the lexicons, *añjuvaṇṇam* in Tamil and *pañca-varṇa* in Sanskrit. It is understood in the sense of the five artisan classes, viz. the goldsmith, blacksmith, brasier, carpenter and stone-mason.[3]

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[1] See *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 133, *Stud Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 121-22.

[2] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 404. note 1 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX. p. 168.

[3] See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 16-18 ; cf. also pp. 342-43 ; Vol. XIV, pp. 302, 418.

The boundaries of the village of Kāṇāḍuka are quoted in lines 33-35. The village was granted with the rights called *udraṅga* (*i.e.* fixed tax), *parikara* (*i.e. uparikara*, occasional tax), *bhoga-bhāga* (*i.e.* periodical offering of fruits, etc., and the royal share of the produce of the fields), *daṇḍa-daś-āparādha* (*i.e.* fines for the 'ten' crimes), *dhānya-hiraṇy-ādeya* (*i.e.* taxes in grains and cash), *utpadyamāna*-

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1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 173-76.
2. *As. Res.*, Vol. I, p. 357 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 276 ff. ; Vol. IV, pp. 33 ff.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 291-92. Of the expressions used in inscriptions, *haṁyamana-paura* or *hañjamana-paura* would mean 'the artisans and other citizens' and *haṁyamanīya-mukhya* 'the elders of the artisan communities' while *hañjamana-nagara-paura-trivarga* means 'the three classes, viz. *hañjamana*, *nagara* and *paura*.' The word *nagara* here means 'the mercantile community' as in many South Indian inscriptions.

viṣṭi-pratyāya (*i.e.* income in respect of free labour), *abhyantara-siddhi* (*i.e.* income from agricultural land) and *a-chāṭa bhaṭa-praveśa* (*i.e.* inadmissibility of royal agents). But the rights did not include the following three : *nidhāna* (*i.e.* treasure trove), *alīpaka* (also called *alīyaka, i.e.* the income from honey and honeycomb) and *kumārī-sāhasa-doṣa* (*i.e.* fines for the violation of the modesty of unmarried girls). The gift lands were made a permanent endowment.

Some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas (verses 24-34) are quoted in lines 40-58, with a similar passage in prose in lines 45-50. The date when the charter was written is given in words and figures in lines 58-60. It is stated in lines 60-63 that the document was written by Sugata, son of Ajita who had been the *Sāndhivigrahika* (minister for war and peace) of Dhruvarāja, with the cognisance of Vathaiya, a *Dhruva* of Saṁyāna, and under orders from Sugatipa who received instructions in this matter from *Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Nityavarṣadeva (Indra III) meditating on the feet of his predecessor Akālavarṣadeva (Kṛṣṇa II). As in many other records of the kind, the document is stated to be authoritative even if here and there a letter was omitted from it or unnecessarily put in it. Verse 35 prays for the continuous rule of the chief Sugatipa, represented as the donor of the village of Kāṇāduka together with half a *Dhura* of land at Devīhara, and for the rehabilitation of Annaiya (Annammaiya), Revaṇa and Kautuka, apparently after their death, in the mountainous abode of the gods (*i.e.* on the Sumeru), through the grace of the Devī. This Devī is no other than *Bhagavatī* Daśamī who is mentioned in line 30 and whose image was installed in the *maṭhikā* constructed by Annaiya or Annammaiya at Saṁyāna. The mention of Revaṇa and Kautuka along with Annaiya (Annammaiya) in this stanza suggests that they were also responsible for the construction of the temple and the installation of the Devī in it. Indeed another inscription[1] from the same place, seems to refer to the said *maṭhikā* as built by Kautuka alone. This may have been due to the fact that Annaiya and Revaṇa were the younger brothers of Kautuka. The last stanza (verse 36) of the inscription contains the prayer that the charter might last for ever through the grace of the Devī. There is a benedictory passage of the usual type at the end of the record in line 67.

The inscription raises several interesting points, one of them being its date. It shows beyond doubt that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III surnamed Nityavarṣa ruled at least down to April 926 A.D. The Nausari plates[2] of Indra III record a grant made on the occasion of his *paṭṭa-bandh-otsava*, or festival of coronation on the 24th February 915 A.D. The Dandapur inscription[3] of the 23rd December 918 A.D. referring to the reign of Prabhūtavarṣa (Govinda IV, son of Indra III), led scholars to believe that Indra III died before that date, though the Cambay plates[4] of Govinda IV were issued on the occasion of his own coronation (*paṭṭa-bandha*) on the 10th May, 930 A.D. In *The Rāṣṭrakuṭas and their Times*, published in 1934, A. S. Altekar suggested that Indra died in 917 A.D.,[5] although Sewell's *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, published two years earlier, refers to Nos. 271-72 of 1918, dated 922 A.D. as belonging to the reign of Nityavarṣa Indra III.[6] But, some years later, R. S. Panchamukhi and A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar referred to certain inscriptions of Indra III, the latest of which (from Kamalāpuram in the Cuddapah District) is dated the 23rd of December 925 A.D.[7] They also suggested that the Haleritti inscription of Nityavarṣa Nirupama-Vallabha, dated December 927 A.D., belongs to the same Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch. But none of the stone inscriptions quoted by Panchamukhi and Ayyar gives the genealogy of the king. Some of these records mention the king under his *biruda* Nityavarṣa and it was sometimes believed that Govinda IV was also called Nityavarṣa like his father.[1] Thus the inscription under study, which not only quotes a verifiable date but also a complete genealogy of the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas from Govinda I to Nityavarṣa Indra III, throws further light on the point of controversy and clearly supports the views of Panchamukhi and Ayyar. But the recent suggestion of K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, based on an inadequate appreciation of the evidence discussed by the said scholars, that Indra III ended his rule in the year 9-7 A.D.[2] is apparently wrong. The Bhādāna grant[3] of Śilāhāra Aparājita clearly states that Amoghavarṣa II, elder brother of Govinda IV, ruled for one year, while, as already shown above, the coronation of Govinda IV took place on the 10th May 930 A.D. and he must have ascended the throne shortly before that date. Besides the Dandapur inscription, probably issued during his governorship over the region in question under his father, the earliest inscriptions of the reign of Govinda IV are the Gaonri plates and the Kalas inscription dated respectively the 17th and 30th January of 930 A.D.[4] He, therefore, does not appear to have ascended the throne much earlier than the beginning of the year 930 A.D. Thus the one year's reign

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 55ff.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 253.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 27ff.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 383-84.

[7] *Annual Report on Kannada Research in Bombay Province*, 1939-40, pp. 35 ff. ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 162.

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1. *A. R. Ep.*, 1916, para. 38 ; *ARASI*, 1929-30, p. 173 ; *ibid.*, 1930-34, Part I, p. 235. Even in a recent publication, Altekar suggests that Indra III died in 922 A.D. (cf. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ed. Majumdar, 1955, p. 13).
2. *History of South India*, 1955, p. 169.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 267.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 106 ff. ; Vol. XIII, pp. 329 ff.

of Amoghavarṣa II may be regarded as roughly corresponding to the year 929 A.D. Indra III, therefore, seems to have ruled till the end of 928 A.D.

The governorship of a Tājika or Arab over Saṁyāna under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings Kṛṣna II and Indra III, known for the first time from the inscription under study, supports the statements of certain early Arab writers. The Balharās (Ballaha-rāyas or Vallabha-rājas, *i.e.* the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchs) of Mānkīr (*i.e.* Mānvakheṭa or Mālkheḍ) find mention in the writings of Sulaimān (851 A.D.), Abū Zaid (before 916 A.D.), Ibn Khurdādba (before 912 A.D.), Al Ma'sūdī (932-33 A.D.), Al Istakhrī (about 951 A.D.) and Ibn Haukal (between 943 and 968 A.D.).[1] These authors give the general impression that the Balharās and their subjects were extremely partial to the Arab Musalmans and, according to Ibn Haukal and Al Istakhrī, Musalman governors of cities were employed by the Balharās. It is also stated by them that none but Muslims ruled over their co-religionists living in that empire, apparently meaning thereby that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas appointed Qāzīs to look after the religious and judicial affairs of their Muslim subjects who were mostly of Arab nationality. Since, however, Muslim administrators did not so long figure in the epigraphical records of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Altekar considered the statements of the Arab writers as unreliable.[2] But the present inscription proves the veracity of the statements of Ibn Haukal and Al Istakhrī. Since Madhumati Sugatipa was appointed governor of Saṁyāna sometime before the end of the rule of Kṛṣṇa II in 915 A.D., he was continuing to hold the important post for more than a decade. He must have been a successful administrator capable of preserving friendly relations with the peoples of communities and creeds other than his own. The way he associated himself with the construction of a Hindu monastery or temple, the installation of an image therein and the creation of a permanent endowment in its favour throws welcome light on the outlook of the Arab Musalmans of those days. This is in striking contrast with the policy of most of the later Muslim rulers of India.

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[1] Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. I, pp. 3 ff., 9 f., 13 ff., 21 ff., 27 ff., 34.

[2] *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 187.

The Arab governor's rule over the district around Saṁyāna during the reigns of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings Kṛṣṇa II (878-915 A.D.) and Indra III (915-28 A.D.) throws interesting light on the history of the Śilāhāras of the Northern Konkan. We know that, during the reign of Amoghavarṣa I (814-80 A.D.), the Śilāhāras claimed to be rulers of the whole of the Konkan as feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch and that they again became powerful in the area after the decline of Rāṣṭrakūṭa power about 973 A.D.[1] It now appears from the present inscription that, with the appointment of a governor over Saṁyāna-maṇḍala comprising wide areas of the Northern Konkan, during the reign of Kṛṣṇa II, the Śilāhāras became rulers of only parts of the territory over which they had been ruling as feudatories of Amoghavarṣa I.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the reference to Pañca-gauḍa is very interesting. The name Gauḍa has been used here to indicate North India mentioned elsewhere in the record as Āryadeśa, i.e. Āryāvarta. The name is known to be used variously as that of a city in Eastern India, of the country around the said city, of the countries of Eastern India collectively and of the whole of Āryāvarta or Northern India.[2] It is well known that the name Saṁyāna, applied to both a city and a *maṇḍala* or territorial division, is preserved in that of modern Sanjan in the Thana District of Bombay.

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[1] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 538 ff.

[2] Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 110 ff.

II

An inscription, originally from Somanātha Pāṭan in the former Junagadh State in Kathiawar but now fixed in a wall of the temple of Harṣada (not Harṣaṭa) Mātā at the neighbouring town of Verāval, was edited by E. Hultzsch in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, 1882, pp. 241-45, without illustration. It was also transcribed in the *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, pp. 224 f.

Hultzsch's treatment of the inscription exhibits the carefulness and ability expected of him. His paper also contains a learned translation of the whole document. However, while going through Hultzsch's translation of the Verāval inscription, I felt that he did not understand the meaning of some of the words and passages occurring in the record. I have little to add to Hultzsch's introductory discussion excepting that Sanskrit *satka* (Pali *santaka*, 'belonging to') which has invariably been written in the inscription as *sakta*, is often noticed in the latter corrupt form in the documents quoted in the *Lekhapaddhati* which is a medieval product of the Gujarat-Kathiawar region.[1]

The inscription begins with a passage in prose and a verse in *Anuṣṭubh* (lines 1-2), both recording the author's obeisance to Viśvanātha (literally, 'the lord of the universe'). In the stanza in question, Viśvanātha is also called Śūnyarūpa (literally, 'one whose form is the void'), Viśvarūpa (literally 'having various forms') and Lakṣyālakṣya (literally, 'visible and invisible [at the same time]' or 'scarcely visible'). The same Viśvanātha is again mentioned in the following passage in prose (line 2) as one to whom the followers of the Prophet Muḥammad were attached or devoted. This shows that, the words *Viśvarūpa*, etc., have been used to indicate Allah the God of the Muhammadans. It is difficult to say whether, from this, the author of the record has to be regarded as a Muhammadan, although there is no doubt that he had an idea about the God of the Muhammadans and knew the meanings of a number of Arabic words.

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[1] See *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 100, etc. Sanskrit *sakta*, with which *satka* is confused, has not exactly the same sense, although both the words may be used in the sense of 'attached to', 'relating to'. For *satka* in early medieval records, see, e.g., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 98, text line 1; Vol. I, p. 164; etc.

Lines 2-4 quote the date of the inscription as Sunday the 13th of the dark fortnight of the month of Āṣāḍha in the year counted in accordance with the following four eras : (1) year 662 of Rasula Mahammada,[1] the preceptor (*Bodhaka*) of the sailors (*Nau-jana*) devoted to Viśvanātha (*i.e.*, the Muslim sailors who were devotees of Allah and were present at the locality in question in connection with their business) ; (2) year 1320 of king Vikrama (i.e., of the Vikrama Saṁvat) ; (3) year 945 of the Valabhī (*i.e.*, Gupta) era; and (4) year 151 of the Siṁha era. The date corresponds to Sunday, the 25th May 1264 A.D.[2] The Hijrī era, described as the era of Rasul Muḥammad, has been mentioned first because the transactions recorded in the inscription relate to a Muhammadan. But the month of the Muslim calendar has not been mentioned. The corresponding year of the Siṁha era, used in a few records of the Kathiawar region, shows that the era started in 1113 A.D. probably in commemoration of the annexation of South Kathiawar by the Caulukya king Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (1094-1144 A.D.).[3]

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1. *I.e.*, Rasul Muhammad. Arabic *Rasul* means 'a messenger' Muḥammad being regarded by the Musalmans as the messenger of God.
2. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 180, No. 129.
3. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part i, p. 176.

Lines 4-6 introduce the reign of the Caulukya-Vāghelā king *Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Arjunadeva who was residing at Aṇahillapāṭaka (i.e., his capital Aṇhilwāḍā, modern Pāṭan in the Mehsana District of Gujarat). The king is stated to have been endowed with all the royal epithets (*rāj-āvalī*) and enjoyed the titles *Niḥśaṅkamalla* (literally, 'the fearless wrestler'), *Arirājahṛdayaśalya* (literally, 'a dart in the heart of the hostile kings') and *Caulukya-cakravartin* (i.e., the Caulukya emperor). King Arjuna is also described as having obtained great prowess (*prauḍha-pratāpa*) as a favour (*vara*) from the god Umāpati (Śiva).

The next passage in lines 6-7 refers to the administration conducted by the king's subordinate whose name was *Mahāmātya* (literally, 'the great administrator or minister') Māladeva and who enjoyed the feudatory title *Rāṇaka*. Māladeva's official function is indicated by the passage *śrīśrīkaraṇ-ādi-samasta-mudrā-vyāpārān=paripanthayati*, literally meaning, 'conducting all the business of the seal such as the making of *śrī-śrī* [at the beginning of documents] (i.e., the drawing up of documents).' This was, however, the usual style of early medieval documents for introducing the king's principal administrator of the kingdom and his viceroy of a province.[1] Māladeva was therefore either Arjuna's chief minister or the chief administrator of his kingdom or, more probably, the king's viceroy in charge of the administration of Kathiawar. The following passage in lines 8-9 refers to the administration (*pratipatti*) of the *Pañcakula* at Somanāthadevapattana which is called Somanāthadevanagara elsewhere in the inscription and is the same as modern Somanātha Pāṭan near Verāval. The expression *Pañcakula* indicates a board of administrators consisting of five [or more] members. It is the *Pañcāyat* of various parts of the country and is similar to the *Cauthiyā* of Rajasthan. The *Cauthiyā* were 'the town-magistrates' and a self-instituted tribunal of which the head was the Nagarseṭh or chief citizen, and the four members were tantamount to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who held their court and decided all civil cases.[1]

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[1] See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 152 and note 2 ; p. 166.

Thus the initial part of our inscription down to line 9 refers to the date of the record, on which the king of the country was Caulukya-Vāghelā Arjuna, Māladeva was the governor of Kathiawar and a *Pañcakula* was in charge of the administration of Somanāthadevapattana where the inscription was written and engraved. The number of members of this *Pañcakula* is not indicated although two of them are stated to have been : (1) *Para* Vīrabhadra described as a great teacher of the Śaiva doctrine called Pāśupata, as great among the great scholars and as one who was an incarnation of *dharma* and was called Gaṇḍa or as the best (*gaṇḍa*, literally 'a rhinoceros')[2] among people who were incarnations of *dharma*, and (2) Abhayasiṁha who is called *Pāri* and *Mahaṁ* both of which are abbreviated forms of the person's designations. *Para*, which is a contracted corrupt form standing for Sanskrit *Purohita* (i.e., a priest), occurs twice elsewhere in the inscription (lines 24 and 25). *Pāri* is a contraction of Gujarātī *Pārikha* (Sanskrit *Pārīkṣa* or *Parīkṣaka*), often found in the epigraphic and literary records of the area in question.[3] It is now a surname amongst the people of the mercantile community. The *Lekhapaddhati* uses *Mahaṁ* as a contraction of *Mahantaka* which is a term of respect among the mercantile people of Gujarat and is sometimes explained as 'an accountant' or 'a clerk'.[4] Thus the Śaiva teacher Vīrabhadra, a priest of a local temple which may or may not have been

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1. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ed. Crooke, Vol. II, p. 682 ; cf. Vol. II, p. 171. See also below.
2. Cf. expressions like *nara-vyāghra*.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 12 ; *Lekhapaddhati*, pp. 102, 116.
4. *Lekhapaddhati*, pp. 100, 102.

the temple of Somanātha, was the head of the *Pañcakula* of Somanāthadevapattana and his chief associate in the board of administrators was Abhayasiṁha of the mercantile class. Vīrabhadra and Abhayasiṁha are known from two other records from Kathiawar.[1]

Lines 9-11 introduce the chief figure involved in the transactions recorded in the inscription. He is *Nākhū* Noradīna Pīroja who was the son of *Khojā Nau* Abū Brāhima of Hurmuja-deśa and came to Somanāthadevanagara in connection with his business when *Amīra* Rukanadīna was governing his chiefdom around the harbour (*velākūla*)[2] of Hurmuja. In this section, *Nākhū* stands for Arabic *Nākhudā* meaning 'the captain or commander of a ship'. *Khojā* stands for Arabic *Khwājah* meaning 'a rich man or merchant.' As regards *Nau*, there are two words in our record, of which it may be a contraction, viz. *Naujana* (a sailor) in line 2 and *Nauvittaka* (a leader or owner of a ship) in line 22. But Pīroja, who is called *Nākhū* (i.e., *Nākhudā*) in lines 11, 18 and 20, is mentioned as *Nau* Pīroja twice in line 33. Thus *Nau* stands for *Nauvittaka*, the same as Arabic *Nākhudā*. *Amīra* is Arabic *Amīr* meaning 'a commander, ruler or nobleman'. Hurmuja is the island of Ormuz in the strait connecting the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman, which is referred to in a document in the *Lekhapaddhati* in the expression *Hurmajī-vāhana* meaning 'a ship from Ormuz.'[3] The Arabic names mentioned in the section are Ruknuddīn, Abū Ibrāhim and Nūruddīn Fīrūz (called Pīroja or Fīrūz only in lines 17, 20 and 33).

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1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 103 (verse 29), p. 107 (concluding section of the text). The first record mentions Gaṇḍa as a secondary name of Vīrabhadra while the second, dated Vikrama 1328, speaks of the *pratipatti* or administration of Abhayasiṁha who was probably the head of the local *Pañcakula* at the time.
2. See *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XXXI, p. 12; *JBRS*, Vol. XL, Part 2, p. 12; *Lekhapaddhati*, p. 133 (*velākūla*).
3. See *op. cit.*, p. 113.

The sentence ending in line 17 states that the said *Nākhudā* Nūruddīn Fīrūz secured a plot of land for doing whatever he wanted to do with it (*yath-eṣṭa-kāma-karaṇīyatvena*) together with the *nava-nidhāna* and in accordance with the principle of *sparśana*. Some scholars have explained *nava-nidhāna* occurring in many other inscriptions of the area in question as 'new taxes imposed for the first time at the date of the grant',[1] although the real meaning seems to be 'a fresh assessment of tax'. The lexicons mention 'a gift or donation' among the many meanings of the word *sparśana*. Nūruddīn Fīrūz therefore seems to have received the plot of land as a gift, although he had to pay taxes for it. The said piece of land is stated to have been situated at Mahājaṇapāli lying in Sikottarī outside Somanāthadevanagara. It is further stated that the land was secured from *Bṛha Rāja* Chāḍā, the son of *Rāja* Nānasiṁha, in the presence of all the *jamāthas* as well as of the leading men (*Mahaṇaloka* probably standing for Sanskrit *Mahalloka*) including the following persons: (1) *Bṛhatpuruṣa Ṭha* Palugideva who was the *Pratyaya* of Mahājaṇa (*i.e.*, Mahājaṇapālī) attached to the *droṇī* of Somanāthadeva,[2] (2) *Bṛhatpuruṣa Rāṇaka* Someśvaradeva, (3) *Bṛhatpuruṣa Ṭha* Rāmadeva, (4) *Bṛhatpuruṣa Ṭha* Bhīmasiṁha and (5) *Bṛhatpuruṣa Rāja* Chāḍā. Chāḍā who was present on the occasion of the donation of the land in favour of Nūruddīn Fīrūz seems to be the same as the person of that name who was the son of Nānasiṁha and one of those from whom Fīrūz secured the land. In this section, *jamātha* is Arabic *jamā'at* meaning 'the assembly or congregation [of Muhammadans in the Somanātha Pāṭan area].' *Rāja* is a contraction either of *Rājaputra* (*Rājpūt*) or *Rājakula* (Rāwal), more probably the latter

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1. Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 256.
2. It is also possible to think that all or some of the persons mentioned along with Palugideva were the *Pratyayas* of the land concerned.

which was a title of nobility often used in the *Lekhapaddhati.*[1] *Bṛha* stands for *Bṛhatpuruṣa*, possibly the same as *Mahājana* (called *Mahaṇaloka* in line 14), although the real meaning of the word in the present context is uncertain. *Tha* is an abbreviation of *Thakkura*, a title of nobility, and is often noticed in the literary and epigraphic records of the area in question.[2] *Pratyaya* means 'a dependant or subject' and may mean 'a lessee' in the present context. The word *droṇī* here apparently means 'an estate belonging to a temple'.

The next sentence in lines 17-20 states that the said *Nākhu* (*Nākhudā*) Firūz, the supporter of his faith (*dharma-bāndhava*), having been extremely pious and in accordance with the prescription of the scripture of his own faith, caused a place of worship (*dharma-sthāna*) in the shape of a *mijigiti* (Arabic *masjid*, mosque) to be made within the area of the said plot of land for his own salvation (*ātmanaḥ śrey-orthaṁ*) with the help of *Bṛha Rāja* (i.e. *Bṛhatpuruṣa-Rājakula*) Chāḍā mentioned above. The additional purpose underlying the deed is stated to have been the attainment of fame lasting as long as the sun and moon would endure. The mosque is stated to have been made facing the east. The expression *dharma-bāndhava* means 'one whose only friend is his religious faith'. It may possibly also mean 'persons who have become friends on an oath in the name of their religious faith.'[3] Taken in the sense, the passage would mean that Fīrūz was a great friend of Chāḍā. The nature of the help given by Chāḍā to Fīrūz in the construction of the mosque, besides the gift of the piece of land, cannot be determined.

The latter part of the inscription records certain grants made in favour of Fīrūz's mosque by Fīrūz himself. The purposes for which these grants were made are stated in lines 21-24 to be as follows : (1) for the maintenance of the place of worship in the shape of the mosque ; (2) for the daily provision of worship, light, oil and drinks [in the mosque] ; (3) for [the maintenance of] the *Mā'lima* (Arabic *Mu'allim*, 'an instructor'), *Modina* (Arabic *Mu'azzin*, 'a public crier to prayers') and a monthly reader [of the holy Quran]; (4) for the observance of particular religious festivals (*pujā-mahotsava*) like the *Barātiśabi-khatamarātri* in accordance with the custom (*samācāra*) of the leaders or owners of ships (*Nau-vittaka*) ; and (5) for the annual [expenditure] on *choha* and *cunā* and the repairs to the rents [in the building] and the wearing out [of its parts] (*bhagna-viśīrṇa-samāracana*). In this section, *Barātiśabi* is no doubt the same as *Shab-i-barāt*, a Muslim festival observed in the night of the 14th of the month of Shābān in memory of dead ancestors. It is called the night of record (*barāt*) as an angel is supposed on this occasion to inspect a register of conduct of all living persons. The expression *khatamarātri* appears to mean the night when *Khatm* (literally 'completion') is observed, i.e. when the reading of the entire Qurān is completed in a single night. *Choha* is Gujarātī *cho* meaning 'mortar' and *cunā* is Sanskrit *curṇa* or lime, both required for the purpose of repairs and white-washing.

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[1] See *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 101, 105; cf. p. 123.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 12; *Lekhapaddhati*, pp. 99, 101; cf. p. 126.

[3] Cf. expressions like *dharma-putra* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 340).

The gifts made in favour of the mosque, enumerated in lines 24-32, are the following ; (1) the entire *pallaḍikā* belonging to the god Vakuleśvaradeva and consisting of houses facing different directions and covered with *tṛṇa-cchādya* and *kaveluka*, which was situated within Somanāthadevanagara and was secured from some persons including *Para* Tripurāntaka, the head of the temple (*sthānapati*) of the god Navaghaneśvaradeva, and Ratneśvara, the *Para* of [the temple of] the god Vināyaka-bhaṭṭāraka ; (2) another [*pallaḍikā*], which lay close to (*sametā*) a two-storeyed temple (*dvi-bhauma-maṭha*), had an unmutilated (*avyaṅga*) wall on the four boundaries, and had an exit and an entrance through gates facing the north as well as fixed boundaries and rights of enjoyment, though a house facing east, belonging to *Sūtra* (i.e., *Sūtradhāra*, 'an artisan' or 'a member of the artisan community') Kahnaiyā and lying in the plot of land was excluded; (3) one oil mill [as well as] its *dāna* which was a *pala*-weight (4 *tolas*) [of oil out of each standard measure of oil pressed at the mill] ; and (4) two *haṭṭas* (shops or market-places), lying in front of the said mosque, secured from the following persons according to the *sparśana-nyāya* or principle guiding donations : *Pratyaya* Nirmālya, Chaḍā and Soḍhala's son Kīlhaṇadeva, as well as Lūnasīha (Lavaṇasiṁha), Dharaṇi and Masuma who were the sons of *Ṭha* (i.e., *Ṭhakkura*) Sohaṇa, as also *Rāṇa* (i.e., *Rāṇaka*) Āsadhara (i.e., Āśādhara) residing at Bālyarthakareṇa. In this section, *pallaḍikā* indicates a kind of temple property as another early medieval inscription of the area concerned refers to the gift of a garden in a village as a *pallaḍikā* in favour of a temple.[1] In *tṛṇa-cchādya, chādya* is the same as Gujarātī *chāj* meaning 'thatch'. In our inscription, *tṛṇacchādya* seems to have been used in the sense of 'thatch'. *Kaveluka* is the same as Marāṭhī *kaul,* meaning 'tile,' and has been used in the *Lekhapaddhati* in the forms *kaveluka, kāveluka* and *kivelu.*[2] As already indicated above, *Para* stands for Sanskrit *Purohita*, 'priest'. This is clear from the description of Ratneśvara as the *Para* of the god Vināyaka-bhaṭṭāraka. The word *dāna* has been used in the sense of 'a toll or tax' in passages like *āgama-nigama-dāna*, 'tax for importing and exporting', occurring in the *Lekhapaddhati.*[3] The persons named Nirmālya and others were *Pratyayas* or lessees of the two *haṭṭas* secured by Fīrūz for his mosque. The items mentioned above are stated to have been granted [in favour of the mosque] with [libation of] water evidently by Nūruddīn Fīrūz who thus observed the Indian custom followed in making ceremonial offerings.

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[1] See the Kadi grant in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 205-06.

[2] Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 115-16.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 124; cf. pp. 100, 103, 105.

Among the concluding sentences in lines 32-40, the first states that, with the *āya-pada* (i.e., income or source of income)[1] indicated above, Fīrūz's mosque should have to be kept up and maintained and its rents and worn out parts should have to be repaired, so long as the moon, the planets and the stars endure, for the salvation of *Nau* (i.e., *Nauvittaka* or *Nākhudā*) Fīrūz. The next sentence states that whatever surplus remains [in the hands] of those who make payments out of the said income (or its source) for the upkeep and maintenance of the place of worship (*i.e.*, the mosque) and for the expense of particular festivals and that of holy occasions should have to be sent to the places of worship at Makhā (Mecca) and Madīnā (Medina). It is interesting that Nūruddīn Fīrūz did not think of spending the surplus amount in same good cause in the land where the mosque was built, but arranged for its dispatch to distant Mecca and Medina. The next sentence refers to the people responsible for handling the property of the mosque, *i.e.*, the trustees of the property. It is stated that the income or its source as indicated above should be protected and the place of worship maintained jointly by the following assemblies or congregations [of Muhammadans] amongst others of their kind : (1) the congregation of the *Nākhuyā-norika* (probably, a mistake for *Nākhudā-nāvika*, 'owners or commanders of ships and sailors') ; (2) the congregation of the *Ghāṁcikas* (oil-men) belonging to the town (*śahara*), together with their *Khatiba* (Arabic *Khatīb*, 'preacher'); (3) the congregation of the [Muslim] *Cūṇakaras* (*Cūrṇakāras* i.e., lime-burners or white-washers) ; and (4) the congregation of the *Muśalamānas* (Musalmāns or Muhammadans) among the

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[1] See *ibid.*, pp. 99, 108.

Pātrapatis probably meaning *Taṅgāwālās*. The word *Ghāṁcika* is the same as Gujarātī *Ghāṁci*, 'an oil-maker, an oil-dealer, one who expresses it or sells it'.[1] The word *shahr* meaning a city or town is of Persian origin.[2] In the present context, *samasta-śahara*, 'the entire city', no doubt refers to Somanātha-pattana. Hultzsch found here a reference to the followers of 'Alī. But it is doubtful whether there was any distinct Shia community as such in the area and age in question.

The inscription ends with a benedictory stanza and an imprecatory passage in prose.

The epigraph reminds us of a well-known incident described by the Muslim chroniclers, e.g., Muḥammad Awfī, observing that he 'never heard a story to be compared with this'.[3] During the reign of Rāi Jaising (*i.e.*, the Caulukya king Jayasiṃha Siddharāja, 1094-1144 A.D.), there was a mosque and a minaret at the city of Khambāyat on the sea-shore (*i.e.* at Cambay in the Kaira District of Gujarat). The Pārsī settlers of the locality instigated the local Hindus to attack the Musalmans of Khambāyat, and the minaret was destroyed and the mosque burnt, eighty Musalmāns being killed in the course of the incident. A Muhammadan named Khatīb 'Alī, who was the *khatīb* or reader of Khutba at the Khambāyat mosque, escaped and reached Nahrwala (i.e., Aṇahillapāṭaka) with a view to put up his case before the judicial officers of the king. The king's courtiers were, however, inclined to screen the culprits of the incident at Khambāyat. But, once when the king was going out ahunting, Khatīb 'Alī drew his attention and had the opportunity of placing in the king's hands a *kasīda* in which he had stated the whole case in Hindī verse. As the king felt that Khatīb 'Alī might not get justice from his judges since 'a difference of religion was involved in the case', he himself visited Khambāyat in the guise of a tradesman and learnt all about the incident. He then punished two leading men from each of the non-Muslim classes such as Brāhmaṇas, Fire-worshippers (Pārsīs) and others, and gave to the Muhammadans of Khambāyat a lakh of Balotras (silver coins) to enable them to rebuild the mosque and minaret. Khatīb 'Alī was favoured with a present of four articles of dress. Indeed, instances of such religious toleration are rare in the history of the world.

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[1] Wilson's Glossary, s.v.

[2] *Ibid.*, s.v.

[3] Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II, pp. 162 ff.

LICCHAVI AND AMBAṢṬHA

I

The old city of Vaiśālī has been identified with the modern town of Basarh to the east of the Gandak in the Muzaffarpur District of Bihar. It has been called Vesālī in Pāli works and Viśālā in some passages of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Purāṇas.[1] The city is said to have received its name from king Viśāla who was a son of Ikṣvāku according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[2] but a descendant of Nābhāga, the brother of Ikṣvāku, according to the Purāṇas.[3] Several successors of Viśāla are also mentioned in literature. If the above tradition is to be accepted, it may be assumed that the city of Vaiśālī was founded several centuries before the birth of the Buddha Śākyamuni in the first half of the sixth century B. C.

In the days of the Buddha and Mahāvīra about the latter half of the sixth century B. C., we find Vaiśālī in the possession of a republican clan known as Licchavi (sometimes called Nicchivi or Licchivi); but the cause of the transition from monarchy to republic is unknown. At this time, the Licchavis were a member of the Vṛji (called *Vajji* in Pāli) confederacy of eight clans. Of the eight confederate

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1. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, p.100.
2. I. 47. 11-17.
3. *Vāyu*, 86. 16-22 ; *Viṣṇu*, IV. 1. 18.

clans, the Vṛjis, Licchavis, Videhas and Jñātṛkas were the most important. Scholars have suggested that the remaining four clans were probably the Bhogas, Ugras, Ikṣvākus and Kurus.[1] The city of Vaiśālī was not only the capital of the Licchavi clan, but also the metropolis of the entire confederacy. According to tradition, the powerful Vaiśālians invaded Magadha (South Bihar) in the days of king Bimbisāra, a contemporary of the Buddha.[2] But the tables were turned during the reign of Ajātaśatru, son and successor of Bimbisāra, since he destroyed the Vṛji confederacy and annexed North Bihar to the expanding empire of Magadha.[3]

The next time we hear of the Licchavis, we find them ruling in Nepal. Licchavi kings are known to have ruled over parts or the whole of Nepal upto 879 A. D. when Rāghavadeva conquered the country and founded the Nepalese era.[4] But the date of the foundation of Licchavi power in Nepal cannot be determined with any amount of precision. The earlier inscriptions of the Nepalese Licchavis are dated in the years ranging between 386 and 535 of an unspecified era. Indraji refers the years to the Vikrama era of 58 B.C., Fleet to the Gupta era of 320 A. D. and Lévi to an unknown era starting from 110 A. D. We are, however, in favour of referring them to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. so that the dates in our opinion range between 464 and 613 A.D.[5] But the Licchavis must have established themselves in Nepal long before the middle of the fifth century A.D.,

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1. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.
2. *Ibid.*, p 106,
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 171 ff.
4. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 193.
5. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 366, note 1.

because the earliest inscription dated in the year 386 (464 A.D.) not only refers to the Licchavi king Mānadeva, but also to his three predecessors Dharmadeva, Śaṅkaradeva and Vṛṣadeva who must have ruled for about a century.[1] It is well known to the students of history that Candragupta I (c. 320-35 A.D.), the first imperial ruler of the Gupta dynasty of Magadha, married a Licchavi princess named Kumāradevī and that the illustrious Samudragupta (c. 335-76 A.D.), the mightiest Indian monarch of his time, was an issue of this union.[2] It is tempting to suggest that Kumāradevī was the daughter of an early Licchavi king of Nepal. But certain Gupta coins bearing the figures and names of Candragupta I and Queen Kumāradevī on the obverse and the word *Licchavayaḥ* (i.e., the Licchavis) in the plural on the reverse probably suggest that the Licchavi relatives of the Guptas represented a republican clan holding sway over some parts of Bihar.[3] The importance given to the Licchavis in the epigraphic and numismatic records of the Guptas may further suggest that the imperial position of Candragupta I was largely due to his Licchavi marriage. In the seventh century A.D., the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang mentions Fei-she-li (Vaiśālī) which he distinguishes from Fu-li-chih (Fo-li-shi) or the Vṛji country.[4]

We have indicated above, in outline, the importance of the Licchavis in the history of India. But the question is who the Licchavis were. According to some scholars, the Licchavis were of Tibetan origin. This inference is based on the connection of their judicial system and the disposal of their dead with certain Tibetan customs[1]. Others reject the theory on the ground that we know little about the state of civilization in Tibet during the early days of Buddhism.[2] Another group of scholars hold that the Licchavis were originally Persians who came from the Persian city of Nisibi.[3] This theory has been criticised by several writers, and there is really no evidence in support of it.[4] A distinguished writer points to the unanimity of Indian tradition in representing the Licchavis as Kṣatriyas. His conclusion is that the Licchavis were indigenous Kṣatriyas who were degraded to the position of Vrātyas when they championed the cause of non-Brāhamaṇcial creeds like Buddhism and Jainism.[5] In our opinion, the arguments in favour of the above suggestion do not preclude the possibility of the Licchavis having originally been a Non-aryan tribe with Mongolian affinity, which was later admitted into the Brāhmaṇical fold.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 366-69.

[2] For Samudragupta's epithet *Licchavi-dauhitra*, cf. *ibid.*, p. 259 (text line 29), etc.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 253-54.

[4] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 63, 81.

It is well known that the Indo-Greeks (Yavanas) and the Indo-Scythians (Śakas) were considered *aniravasita* Śūdras as early as the age of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*. According to the *Manusmṛti* (X.43-44), however, the Pauṇḍrakas (people of North Bengal), Auḍras (people of the Orissa region; v.l. Coḍas=Colas), Draviḍas (the Tamils), Kambojas (Iranian autochthons), Yavanas (Greeks), Śakas, Pāradas (Parthian domiciles), Palhavas (Sasanians),

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[1] See V. A. Smith in *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 233.
[2] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit*, p. 103 and note 1.
[3] S. C. Vidyabhushan in *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 78.
[4] Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 103 and note 3.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 103-04.

Cīnas, Kirātas, Daradas (people of Northern Kashmir) and Khasas (modern Khakkas of Kashmir) were Kṣatriyas who were gradually degraded to the position of Vṛṣalas (outcasts or Śūdras) owing to the omission of sacred rites (i.e. prescribed duties) and to their neglect of the Brāhmaṇas. Elsewhere in the same work (X.22), the Jhallas, Mallas (neighbours of the Licchavis, living about Kusinara and Pava), Licchavis, Naṭas (actors or a tribe), Karaṇas (scribes or a tribe), Khasas and Draviḍas are described as the descendants of the Vrātya Rājanyas, i. e., apostate Kṣatriyas. It is very interesting to note that the Khasas and Draviḍas are put in both the lists of Manu. It is therefore clear that the social position of the peoples indicated in the two passages is practically the same. It is also to be noted that the Śakas and Yavanas are called pure or clean Śūdras by Patañjali and 'degraded' or apostate Kṣatriyas by Manu and that the position indicated by the two authorities is almost the same. Another important fact is that the first passage referred to above from Manu (X. 43-44) mentions the peoples as *Kṣatriya-jātayaḥ*, i. e., castes (social groups dependant on birth) belonging to the Kṣatriya *varṇa* (social grade).[1]

It seems quite clear from the above lists of apostate Kṣatriyas as well as Manu's list of the degraded Brāhmaṇas (X. 21) and Vaiśyas (X.23) and of the Varṇa-saṅkaras (castes arising from an admixture of more than one *varṇa*) that the scheme is arbitrary. Its chief object was to make a suitable place in the Indian society, based on the conventional and theoretical division into four social grades, for all foreign, tribal (Aryan or Nonaryan) and professional groups associated with the social life of ancient India. The position in the scheme was no doubt determined by the rank demanded by the importance, culture and activities of the groups themselves. It is therefore natural that the groups whose activities resemble the conventional profession of the Kṣatriya *varṇa*, should be given a place near about the Kṣatriyas in the scale.[2] And such a tribe the Licchavis no doubt were and probably also the Śākyas of similar associations.

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[1] Some of the points noticed here have also been mentioned by us elsewhere. See above, pp. 48-49.

It is well known that the Indian society was originally divided into two social grades based on 'complexion'—the Whites and the Blacks.[1] The word 'complexion' was next applied to the four theoretical grades of the society, probably because the military and agriculturist classes lost partially the original 'Aryan complexion' owing to admixture with the dark-skinned aboriginals. The real meaning of the word *jāti* is 'birth'. Later it indicated a tribal group whose membership is necessarily dependent on birth. Numerous Nonaryan tribes became gradually Aryanised more or less, although they still retained some or all of their tribal customs, especially those regarding connubium and commensality. They were naturally indicated by the word *jāti* which thus became gradually popular in the sense of any social group crystallized into a caste.[3]

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1. See *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, s. v. *Dāsa* (note 6).

2. When a foreign or Nonaryan tribe became Hinduised, its members often claimed the status of the Kṣatriya, though the orthodox Brahmanists were inclined to assign the position of degraded Kṣatriya at least to the people of the ruling classes, while the rank and file, when developed into a caste, could have been characterised as Śūdra in spite of their own claim to be Kṣatriya. It was easy for the ruling classes to sustain their social status by contracting matrimonial alliance with other Indian ruling families since communal consideration played little part in that matter. See our views on the origin of the Rajputs in *Our Heritage*, Vol. XI, Part i, 1963. Note that the Mauryas, probably Mongoloids, were allied matrimonially with the Greeks etc., and were called Kṣatriya by themselves but Vṛṣala by the Brāhmaṇas.

3. See pp. 104 ff.

II

The word *varṇa* (colour or complexion) is found in the oldest literature of the Indo-Aryans to indicate the social and cultural distinction between the Aryans and the Nonaryans ; but the expressions *Ārya-varṇa* (the colour of the Aryans) and *Dāsa-varṇa* (the colour of the Dāsas) must have originally pointed to the fair complexion of the Aryan new-comers and the dark or brown skin-colour of the aboriginal peoples of India.[1] In later days, the connotation of the term *varṇa* expanded so as to signify the four conventional grades of the Indo-Aryan society in which Nonaryan elements were gradually being absorbed. The units composing the social grades called *varṇa* came to be known as *jāti* ; but, in later literature, this word was also used in the sense of *varṇa* itself. The primary significance of the term *jāti* is 'birth' ; but we know that the early *catur-varṇa* division of the Indo-Aryan society was not strictly dependent on birth. The word *jāti* must therefore have originally indicated tribal groups whose membership depended rigidly on birth. Numerous Nonaryan tribes of different grades of civilization were gradually imbibing, in varying degrees, the culture and blood of the Aryans ; but most of them must have still retained their tribal names and also certain social customs and prejudices. These elements of the mixed society of the Aryan and Nonaryan peoples of India had many characteristics dependent on birth and were no doubt *jātis* in the real sense of the term. The incorporation of these tribes in the Indo-Aryan social system seems to have popularised the use of the word *jāti* in the sense of a caste and later also of a *varṇa*.[1]

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[1] Cf. *Vedic Index*, s.v. *Varṇa* (2) and *Dāsa*.

The formation of castes from tribal groups took place not only in the medieval and modern periods,[2] but also in the ancient days. We have elsewhere[3] shown how Manu and other authorities on law were eager to include all Aryan, Nonaryan and foreign tribes and communities of various grades of culture into the theoretical scheme of the *catur-varṇa*. The attempt was generally to represent a tribe or class of Nonaryan or foreign origin, not without reference to their actual position in the Indian society, as originated from an admixture of the blood of two or more of the four conventional *varṇas* or as degraded from one of the *varṇas*. There is general agreement on this arbitrary scheme amongst authorities on law; but in some cases there is a little difference.

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[1] There is evidence to show that the Aryan invaders often married girls of Dravidian and pre-Dravidian origin. This not only led to the introduction of the cerebral consonants into Indo-Aryan speech even in the early Vedic period, but also lay at the root of the dark complexion of a large number of Aryan males and females especially of the Kṣatriya class The intermediate grades of complexion, caused by an admixture of the original white and dark, may have had something to do with the development of the four *varṇas* (colours) from the earlier two. Cf. *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 147, note 2 on *varṇa* (2); 'Some Aspects of the Ancient Indian Social Organisation' by H. C. Raychaudhuri in *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, 2nd ed., pp. 167 ff.; also our introduction to *Maurya-Yuger Bhāratīya Samāj* by N. C. Banerjee, Calcutta University Press, 1945.

[2] Cf. Risley, *People of India*, pp. 72-76. Note the cases of the Koch, Bhumij, Bunā, etc., and also of the Hūṇas, who were foreigners, but were in this way absorbed and became recognised ultimately as one of the thirty-six respectable Rājput clans. Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (Calcutta ed.), p. 87, spells the name as Hun, Hoon or Hool. In the *Pṛthvīrājrāso* (I 54), the Sindas or Chindas of Kannaḍa origin are represented as one of the thirtysix *Agnikula* Rajput clans (Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 781, note 7),

[3] Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XVI, pp. 560-66. See also below.

Thus the Māhiṣyas, who were apparently associated with the land called Mahiṣa, are not recognised in the *Manusmṛti* ; but they find a place in the social scheme of later writers like Gautama (IV. 20) and Yājñavalkya (I. 92). As we have pointed-out elsewhere, the Yavanas (Greeks) and Śakas (Scythians), who came to India and settled in this country, are regarded by Patañjali, author of the *Mahabhāṣya*, as *aniravasita* (pure) Śūdra ; but they are included by Manu in the list of degraded Kṣatriyas. Of course, the social position of the 'pure Śūdra' and the 'degraded Kṣatriya' appears to have been the same practically as we have also seen.[1]

There was in ancient India a powerful tribe known as Ambaṣṭha. Whether the Ambaṣṭhas were Nonaryan in origin cannot be determined with precision. Their tribal organisation as well as the fact that they are called 'Ānava Kṣatriya' (*i.e.*, descendants of Yayāti's son Anu who became the progenitor of the Mlecchas as a result of his father's curse) in the Puranic tradition[2] probably points to their Nonaryan association. As has already been indicated above, many Aryan tribes might have had peculiar tribal customs which led to their characterisation as *jātis* like the Aryanised Nonaryan tribal organisations. Our information is meagre on the influence of the Nonaryan social groups on the ancient Indo-Aryan tribes.

The Ambaṣṭhas of ancient India are referred to in many works. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 21), which has to be assigned to a date not later than c. 500 B. C., mentions an Ambaṣṭha king and his minister whose name was Nārada. According to the Greek and Roman writers, the Ambaṣṭha people lived on the banks of the Chenab in the Southern

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[1] *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 103. See also above, pp. 48, 101.

[2] Cf. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 108-09 ; *Harivaṁśa*, I. 31-32 ; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 48.

Punjab when Alexander of Macedon invaded Northern India (327-325 B.C.).[1] They are called the Ambastanoi ; but the name is sometimes found as Sabarkae or Sabargae which may have actually represented an influential branch of the Ambaṣṭha tribe. The Ambaṣṭhas, who lived in the Punjab in the fourth century B.C., had a republican form of government and an army consisting of 60,000 foot soldiers, 6,000 horses and 500 war-chariots. The *Mahābhārata* (II. 52. 14-15), like the Classical writers, mentions the Ambaṣṭhas along with other tribes of the Punjab such as the Śibis, Kṣudrakas and Mālavas. The *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra*[2] also places the Ambaṣṭhas near Kashmir, the Hūṇa land and Sind. As stated above, the Purāṇas call them 'Ānava Kṣatriya' which appears to indicate a class of degraded Kṣatriyas, and associate them with the Śibis. In a Pāli work entitled *Ambaṭṭhasutta*,[3] an Ambaṣṭha is represented as a Brāhmaṇa. The *Jātaka* literature describes the Ambaṣṭhas as agriculturists.[4] According to Manu (X. 47), who prescribes for the Ambaṣṭha people the profession of the physician, the tribe originated from a union of the Brāhmaṇa male and the Vaiśya female. These facts have led scholars to suggest that the Ambaṣṭhas were originally a tribe of warriors and that they later adopted various professions such as that of the priest, cultivator, physician and others.[5]

As has already been pointed out, the place of a tribe in the arbitrary social scheme of the authorities on law depended considerably on its actual position in the society. The profession of the physician, prescribed for the Ambaṣṭhas by Manu, would suggest that at least a large section of the people led the life of medicine men.[1] It is however unknown whether the Ambaṣṭhas of the *Manusmṛti* lived in the Punjab or elsewhere. The Geography of Ptolemy (c. 145 A. D.) as well as the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (XIV. 7) and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (LVIII, 14) speak of an old Ambaṣṭha settlement near the Mekala country about the present Maikal range in Central India. It is interesting to note that a section of the Kāyastha community of Bihar is known as Ambaṣṭha-Kāyastha. According to certain traditions, to which reference will be made below, the Vaidyas representing the physician caste of Bengal as well as the Māhiṣyas (*i.e.*, the agriculturist section of the Kaivarta or fishermen caste which has recently adopted an ancient tribal name as its caste designation) are also the same as the Ambaṣṭhas of ancient India.[2] Whatever be the historical value of the traditions regarding the Ambaṣṭhas in Bengal, it seems that the Ambaṣṭhas of the Maikal region migrated to Bihar where they have merged themselves into the Kāyastha community.

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[1] Cf. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Palitical History of Ancient India*, 1938, p. 206.

[2] Ed. F. W. Thomas, p. 21.

[3] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, p. 109.

[4] Cf. *Jātaka*, Vol. IV, No. 363.

[5] Cf. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-07. See also Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II. pp. 71 ff.

It will be seen that the ancient Ambaṣṭhas have become Kāyasthas in Bihar and, according to traditions, they have formed in Bengal the communities of the Vaidyas and Māhiṣyas. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (X. 43. 4ff.) suggests that, in some parts of the country, they also adopted the profession of elephant-drivers.

In this connection, mention has to be specially made of the present day Ambaṣṭhas of the Tamil- and Malayalam-speaking areas. When precisely the Ambaṣṭhas migrated to South India cannot be determined ; but there is evidence of a southward movement of the Punjab tribes like the Śibis and the Mālavas. The dislodgment of the tribes of North-Western India appears to have been caused by the irruption, at different epochs, of foreigners such as the Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Kuṣāṇas and Hūṇas.[1]

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[1] Cf. the case of the people of the kingdom of Mousikanos in modern Sind as witnessed by the Classical authors.— *Ibid.*, p. 208 : "They study no science with attention but that of medicine."

[2] *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, pp. 589 ff.

The Ambaṣṭhas of the Tamil country follow principally the professions of the barber and surgeon. The name *Ambaṣṭha* becomes *Ambaṭṭan* in Tamil spelling and pronunciation and means 'a barber' in the Tamil language. It is believed that the word is derived from *amba* meaning 'near',[2] prefixed to the root *sthā*, 'to stay,' and signifies one who stands by a person to serve him in the capacity of a barber or surgeon. We know that a sect of the barbers of Malabar is called *Adutton* which, in the Malayalam language, means 'one who stands near by'. The Ambaṣṭha girls of the Tamil country serve their neighbours as midwives. It is sometimes conjectured that the Ambaṣṭhas originally followed the profession of the physician, but that they later adopted the work of the barber and also of the musician. The theory however takes the tradition recorded in the *Manusmṛt* on its face value.

The social life of the Tamil Ambaṣṭhas is guided by Brahmanical regulations and rituals. High class Brāhmaṇas act as priests in their marriage ceremony; but the priests, when they go away after the work of the day, have to purify themselves by a bath. The Ambaṣṭha girls are taught to sing from an early age, as they have to sing on the occasion of certain rites performed on the fourth or fifth day of their marriage. The remarriage of widows is disallowed in the Ambaṣṭha society as in that of the high-class Brāhmaṇas. Dead bodies are cremated, but those of infants buried. The Ambaṣṭhas cremate the dead bodies of all the poor people of their village with the exception only of the Brāhmaṇas.

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[1] For the southward movement of the northern tribes, see Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, 1939, p. 11, note 2.

[2] This meaning of the word is not supported by Sanskrit lexicons.

The Tamil Ambaṣṭhas perform the functions of the priest in the marriage ceremony of the Konga Vellalas of the Salem District There is a legend that appears to suggest that the Ambaṣṭhas have only recently ousted the Brāhmaṇas from this field. The Ambaṣṭha people are divided into two religious groups, viz., Saiva and Vaiṣṇava; but there is no objection to intermarriage between the two classes. The Vaiṣṇava Ambaṣṭhas, who are endowed by their preceptors with the symbols of the conch and discus, do not touch fish, meat or liquor.

There is a large number of Ambaṣṭhas in the population of the Salem District. They are divided into four socio-religious sections each under a hereditary chief called Perītanakkāran. There are about 1000 heads of families under each of the chiefs. An Ambaṣṭha may live far away from his original home in connection with business or other pursuits; but he cannot renounce his allegiance to his Perītanakkāran. A chief has to be obeyed even if he is a boy. It is he who settles marriage relations amongst the Ambaṣṭha families under his jurisdiction. In important matters such as the settlement of disputes, the chief gets the help of a committee of elders. Each family has to contribute 2½ annas per annum and the money thus collected is spent on pious works such as the maintenance of the *Satrams* and the repairs of temples. The Ambaṣṭha *Satrams* at Tirupporur and Tirukkalikundram, both in the Chingleput District, are very famous. They supply free food to the Brāhmaṇas, while Hindus belonging to other high castes may get from them a supply of uncooked food.

The Ambaṣṭhas do not shave the members of such low castes as the Paraiyan and Mal who have their own barbers and washermen. An Ambaṣṭha barber loses in social estimation if he shaves people of the lower castes. Some of these barbers wander about from house to house in search of persons who desire a shave, while others wait for such persons at the public bathing places. But a number of Ambaṣṭha barbers receive their customers in a shade at the back of their house where they work from the morning till midday. Like the barbers of other parts of the world, the Ambaṣṭhas are also famous news-mongers; they claim to know the details of the most recent occurrences of the village. They have no equal in gossiping; but they are always reticent about the ingredients of their medicinal pellets. The surgical instrument of the Ambaṣṭhas is their razor. Like the washerman, blacksmith, carpenter, astrologer, priest and the dancing girl, the village barber also has some land allotted to him which he enjoys hereditarily. He also receives some paddy from the households whose members are his customers.

An Ambaṣṭha is otherwise called *Vaidyan* as he is the village physician and surgeon; but he is usually regarded as *Naśivan, i.e.*, bad luck. He has no entrance into the houses of Brāhmaṇas on certain specified days. He has also to salute his superiors by lying down on the ground. There are many stories about the skill of an old barber. A tradition current amongst the Ambaṣṭhas is about the reward of shaving a sleeping king without disturbing his slumber. According to a Tamil proverb, the best qualification of a barber is his old age and that of a washerman his youth.

The barbers of South Travancore are also known as Ambaṣṭhas. Here also the Ambaṣṭha girls practise midwifery. These Ambaṣṭhas work as priests and are therefore called Prāṇopakārī (benefactor of the soul). Some families of the Travancore barbers are known as *Panikkar* and *Vaidyan* which are essentially titles conferred by the kings. The social customs of the Ambaṣṭhas of Malabar resemble those of the Nayars; but, in some respects, they are similar to the practices of the Tamil barbers. Brāhmaṇa priests do not take part in the marriage ceremony of the Travancore barbers. Cross-cousin marriage is the most popular form of matrimony. The period of *aśauca* (legal impurity caused by the birth of a child and the death of a relation) observed by all sections of the Travancore barbers is 16 days; but the Tamil Ambaṣṭhas recently migrated to this region observe only 11 days' impurity.[1]

Among the upper class non-Brāhmaṇa communities of South India, the Ambaṣṭhas claim a fairly high social position. Certain front-rank officers of the Cālukya and Pāṇḍya kings of the seventh and eighth centuries are mentioned in inscriptions as members of the Vaidya class.[2] They were apparently the ancestors of the present day Ambaṣṭha-Vaidya barbers.

From the above discussion it will be clear that, in spite of the difference in occupation, the present day Ambaṣṭhas of Eastern India cannot deny their kinship with the Ambaṣṭhas of the Tamil land and Malabar, as the ancient Ambaṣṭhas, settled in different parts of the country, have no doubt adopted different professions.[3] The case of these Ambaṣṭhas proves beyond doubt that the taboo about commensality and connubium as practised by different castes and communities today has, in many cases, no historical foundation at all.

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[1] The account is compiled from *Castes and Tribes of South India* by E. Thurston and K. Rangachari, *s.v.*

[2] *Ep Ind*. Vol VIII, pp 317-21; Vol. IX, p. 101; Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, 1893, pp. 57 ff. They were no doubt of a higher social status than Kaivarta Divya, a high officer of the Pāla kings.

[3] Cf. the Mandasor inscription of the fifth century A.D. which speaks of a band of silk-weavers of the Lāṭa country in the Nausari-Broach region, who migrated to Daśapura in West Malwa. In Malwa, some of these weavers adopted various other professions such as that of an archer, a story-teller, an exponent of religious problems, an astrologer, a warrior and an ascetic. This no doubt shows the looseness of the caste regulations as we find them in the later period. Cf. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 292.

III

The Vaidya or the physician caste of Bengal is identified with the ancient Ambaṣṭha *jāti* in the Vaidya *Kulapañjī* entitled *Candraprabhā* written in 1675 A.D. by *Mahāmahopādhyāya* Bharata Mallika, the celebrated Vaidya author of Bengal. The tradition is supported by all writers of a later date. The Māhiṣyas, not known outside Bengal today, are also represented as Ambaṣṭha in a late work entitled *Sūtasaṁhitā*.[1] That the Vaidyas were regarded as identical with the Ambaṣṭhas at least as early as the sixteenth century is proved by the *Sūrjanacarita* which describes its author Candraśekhara as 'a Gauḍa Ambaṣṭha.'[2] The *Sūtasaṁhitā* tradition, however, looks like a late fabrication.

Like the Kāyasthas, the Vaidyas of Bengal apparently represent a professional caste; that is to say, they originally belonged to a professional group which later crystallised into a caste. There are no doubt elements of different *varṇas* including the Brāhmaṇa in both the communities.[3] We have evidence to show that, in earlier times, there was no objection to intermarriage between the Vaidyas and Kāyasthas of Bengal[4] and such marriage relations between the two communities exist even today in the eastern districts of Bengal like Tipperah, Chittagong and Sylhet.[1] The Vaidyas and Ambaṣṭhas are mentioned side by side in a late work called *Uśanaḥsaṃhitā* as also in the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* which was modified in Eastern India after the thirteenth century A. D.[2] These Ambaṣṭhas are no doubt the Ambaṣṭha Kāyasthas of Bihar. The Vaidyas are however described as Ambaṣṭhas in another East Indian work, viz. the *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa*[3] which has been assigned by scholars to about the fourteenth century A.D. though the date is rendered doubtful by the fact that it is not quoted in support of the Vaidyāmbaṣṭha theory in Bharata Mallika's *Candraprabhā* written in the later half of the seventeenth century. The *Sadvaidyakulapañjikā*, written in 1653 A.D. by Kavikaṇṭhahāra, is silent about the Ambaṣṭha association of the Vaidyas. But this is of little importance since the *Sūrjanacarita* of a much earlier date mentions a Bengali Vaidya as 'Gauḍa Ambaṣṭha' as we have seen above. We know that the Bengal Vaidyas were regarded as Śūdra by Vācaspati Miśra, Raghunandana and the *Kula-*

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[1] Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, p. 91.

[2] H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1061, note 4.

[3] Brāhmaṇa family names like Ghoṣa, Gupta, Datta, etc., known from early inscriptions of the Bengal region, are now found not among the Brāhmaṇas, but generally among the Kāyasthas and Vaidyas.

[4] According to the *Candraprabhā* (p. 19), Domanadāsa, ancestor of the great Vaidya *Kulīna* Vāmanadāsa, married in the Kāyastha Pāla family.

Cf. *Ḍomanaḥ Pāla-jāmātā Vaidyaḥ Pālo na vidyate* | *vaṁśyo Ḍomanadāsasya Vāmanaḥ kulavān katham* || *iti cintā na kartavyā Vāmane bahavo guṇāḥ* ||

[1] For an interesting summary of the evidence of the *Sadvaidyakulapañjikā* and *Candraprabhā* on this point, see J. C. Ghosh, *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1340 B.S., pp. 161-65.

[2] See *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, p. 590. A mythical account of the origin of the Vaidyas is given in the *Brahmavaivarta* and certain verses ascribed to the *Skanda Purāṇa*. For the late date of these works, see *J A S*, Letters, Vol. XIV. 1948, pp. 6, 25.

[3] The Vaidyas according to this Purāṇa were to follow the vocation of the Vaiśya in respect of manufacturing medicines and that of the Śūdra in regard to religious ceremonies (cf. Chapters XIII-XIV of the Uttara-khaṇḍa).

pañjikāras.[1] The population of Eastern and Southern India is broadly divided into two social grades, viz., Brāhmaṇa and Śūdra (including the Antyaja). After the introduction of the Census in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Śūdra communities of Eastern India began to claim a better social status. It is now well known that the Kāyasthas represent themselves as Kṣatriya, the Sāhās as Vaiśya, the Goālās as Yādava-kṣatriya, the Pods as Pauṇḍra-kṣatriya, the Āguris as Ugra-kṣatriya, the Bāgdis as Vyāgra-kṣatriya the Namaḥśūdras (originally known as Caṅga, but usually, identified with the Caṇḍālas of ancient literature) as Namo-brāhmaṇa and the Nāpitas (barbers) as Nāi-Brāhmaṇa or Sāvitrī-Brāhmaṇa.[2] But the Vaidyas, who head all Bengal castes in point of education, started a communal movement at least as early as the days of Bharata Mallika (17th century) who attempted to brush away the stigma of *Śūdratva* from his community and of Rājā Rājavallabha (18th century) who claimed for the Vaidyas the status of the Vaiśya and introduced the custom of suffixing to the Vaidya cognomens the word *Gupta* indicating *Vaiśyatva*.[1] As a result of this movement, matrimonial relation with Kāyastha families has been discouraged and the society of the Vaidyas has become considerably well-organised, at least in the central and south-western regions of Bengal. When, after the introduction of the Census, the lower castes began to claim the status of the Vaiśya, Kṣatriya and Brāhmaṇa, the Vaidyas naturally were no longer satisfied with their *Vaiśyatva* and a large section of the community has recently claimed the social position of the Brāhmaṇa as well as the right to use the word *Śarman* suffixed to the Vaidya cognomens.

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[1] Cf. *Candraprabhā*, p. 4: *Ambaṣṭhānām=api Kalau* Sūdratvam=*iti Vācaspatimiśrādibhis=tathā Śuddhitattve Smārtabhaṭṭācāryeṇ=āpy=uktam; ataeva kulapañjikāyām=uktam Atidiṣṭaṁ hi Vaidyasya Śūdratvaṁ Kṣatriyādivat* | *tasmāt=Kṣatra-Viśos=tulyo Vaidyaḥ Śūdrasya pūjitaḥ* || *iti*. Note that Bharata does not claim *Brāhmaṇatva* for his community as has been done by a section of the Vaidyas in recent times.

[2] Cf. *Census of India*, 1931, Vol V (Bengal and Sikkim), Part i, pp. 426-27. For the recent adoption of the names Namaḥśūdra and Māhiṣya respectively by the Caṇḍālas and Cāṣī-Kaivartas, see Risley, *People of India*, p. 113, note. A similar movement for higher social status started in the South much earlier. Artisan classes (called *Iḍaṅgai*, 'left hand') including the Rathakāras (i.e. the goldsmith, coppersmith, blacksmith, mason and carpenter castes) of the Tamil-speaking area claimed the position of the Brahma-vaiśya (i.e. descendant of the Brāhmaṇa and Vaiśya like the Ambaṣṭha of the *Manusmṛti*) as early as the close of the 11th century A. D. The Rathakāra artisans of Andhra Pradesh, like the Vaidyas of Bengal, now claim a social status even higher than that of the Brāhmaṇas. Cf. *A.R.Ep.*, 1919, No. 208 ; Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, 2nd ed., p. 549 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 3-4.

The authenticity of another tradition regarding the Vaidyas may be discussed in this connection. It is well known that, according to the *Kulapanjikāras*, king Ballālasena (12th century) introduced the orders of nobility known as Kulīnism amongst the Brāhmaṇas, Kāyasthas and Vaidyas of Bengal. The absence of any reference to Kulīnism in the epigraphic records of the Senas suggests that the Sena kings could not have been entirely responsible for it. Among the Vaidyas, it seems to have originated from such qualities as education, wealth, good deeds, etc., and to have been gradually standardised through the efforts of the *Samājapatis*, *Kulapañjikāras* and *Ghaṭakas* (professional match-makers who were the custodians of family traditions of particular communities).[2] This suggestion can be satisfactorily proved from the *Candraprabhā* and *Sadvaidyakulapañjikā* even though the Vaidyas must have imitated the Brāhmaṇas. In connection with the Kulīnism in the Vaidya community, Bharata does not refer to Ballāla at all. According to him, Kulīnism originates from good conduct: but he does not deny that wealth, not entirely unconnected with *sadācāra*, may also bring it.[1] The *Sadvaidyakulapañjikā*, on the other hand, states specifically that according to 'ancient' authorities, Kulīnism results from good conduct and other qualities, but that according to 'recent' writers it was introduced amongst the Vaidyas by an ancient Vaidya king named Ballālasena.[2] The story of Ballālasena's association with the Kulinism of the Vaidyas thus appears to have been fabricated not much earlier than the middle of the seventeenth century. It may be pointed out in this connection that the family of Ballālasena, who is claimed to have been a Vaidya, is known to be a Brahma-kṣatriya or Karṇāṭa-kṣatriya *kula*, *i.e.*, a Kṣatriya family claiming an admixture of Brāhmaṇa blood and hailing from the Kannaḍa-speaking land of the Deccan. It is not known whether the Senas of Bengal were absorbed in the Kāyastha or the Vaidya community and whether they originally belonged to the Ambaṣṭha community of South India.[1] The caste organisation of the Bengal Vaidyas, however, seems to have been influenced to a great extent by the Southerners who entered Bengal during the Pāla and Sena epochs and must have exercised, especially during the latter, great influence at the Bengal court. It is possible that some Ambaṣṭha-Vaidyas of South India entered the country in the early medieval period and merged themselves in the local physician classes to develop ultimatety the Bengali Vaidya community.[2]

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[1] *Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *Gupta* and *Varmā*: *Śarmāntaṃ Brāhmaṇasya syād=varmāntaṃ Kṣatriyasya ca gupta-dāsāntakaṃ nāma praśastaṃ Vaiśya-Śūdrayoḥ* ||

[2] We have elsewhere suggested that the importance attached by the East Indian Brāhmaṇas to matrimonial relations with the Brāhmaṇas of certain centres of learning in U. P. was an important factor in the development of Kulīnism among the Brāhmaṇas. See above, pp. 25 ff.

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[1] Cf. *Candraprabhā*, p. 5 : *Ācār-ādaya ev=eti santi yeṣūṃ mahātmanām* । *ta eva hi kulīnāḥ syur=na kulaṃ pāralaukikam* ॥ *Dhanena kulam=ity =uktaṃ yad=ācāravatāṃ tu tat*, etc.

[2] Cf. *Sadvaidyakulapañjikā*, pp. 1-2 : *Ācāro vinayo vidyā pratiṣṭhā tīrtha-darśanam* । *niṣṭhā vṛttis=tapo dānaṃ navadhā kula-lakṣaṇam* ॥ *Prācīnamatam=etad=dhi vadanty=ādhunikāḥ punaḥ purā Vaidya-kul-odbhūta Ballālena mahībhujā* । *vyavasthāpi ca kaulīnyaṁ Duhisen-ādi-vaṁśaje* ॥

[3] Vaidya *Kulapañjī* traditions and the great popularity of South Indian names like Ballāla, etc., among the Vaidya personal names in the *Kulapañjīs* (cf. *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XXX, p. 42, note 2 ; p. 43, note 6) may seeggest that many of the Southern settlers of Bengal became absorbed in the Vaidya community. It is interesting to note here a tradition, according to which a Rājput Kṣatriya settled in Bengal, when he noticed that there was no Kṣatriya in the country and that the community next to the Brāhmaṇa here is the Vaidya (and not the Kṣatriya as in his own land), indicated his social position as "Ham Vaidya" (I am a Vaidya) which led to his descendants forming the 'Ham Vaidya' sect of the Vaidyas of Bengal.

As regards the Māhiṣyas, the old name *Māhiṣya* (from the Mahiṣa country either in the Mahīṣmatī region on the Narmadā or in Mysore) has been only recently adopted by the agriculturist (Cāṣī) Kaivartas who have dissociated themeselves from their Kaivarta brethren still following the profession of the fisherman.[3] The Ambaṣṭha association claimed on behalf of the Māhiṣyas seems to have been fabricated in imitation of the Vaidyas.

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[1] The Senas claimed to be Brahma-kṣatriya, while the Ambaṣṭhas apparently claimed the lower status of the Brahma-vaiśya.

[2] It is interesting to note in this connection that the Vaidya as a distinct social group is mentioned for the first them in South Indian inscriptions. The Talamanchi grant of Vikramāditya I of Badami, dated 660 A.D. and written by Vajravarman of the *Vaidyānvaya*, i.e. Vaidya family, is the earliest of such epigraphic records. The Annamalai inscription of the Pāṇḍya king Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ dated in 869-70 A.D. and the Velvikudi and Madras Museum records of the same ruler refer to several Vaidya chiefs who occupied high offices in the state. One of these officers, who is described as a Vaidya or Vaidyaka-śikhāmaṇi, was a great ·general and for some time served as *Uttara-mantrin* or prime minister of the king (cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 101 ; Vol VIII, pp. 317-21 ; Vol. XVII, pp. 291-209 ; *Ind. Ant.*, 1893, pp. 57 ff). It is probable that these Vaidyas belonged to the present-day community of the Ambaṣṭha-Vaidyas of the Tamil land. Their entry into Bengal in the train of the Senas and other Karnāṭas is also quite probable.

[3] The cast name Māhiṣya was unknown to the Kaivarta kings Divvoka and Bhīma who ruled North Bengal about the close of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century A. D. But the Kaivarta fishermen of Eastern India were known as early as P.E.V of Aśoka (c. 272-232 B. C.) .

IV

The reference to the Vaidya officers of the Cālukys of Badami seems to suggest that, in early times, the Ambaṣṭha Vaidyas were not confined to the Tamil- and Malayalam-speaking regions of South India as they are today. It has also to be noticed that the South Indians who migrated to Bengal in the age of the Pālas included not only the Karṇāṭas but also the Coḍas, i.e. the Coḷas of the Tamil- speaking area. We have elsewhere discussed the important role the Karṇāṭas played in the history of Bengal and Bihar.[1] The Coḍas also are mentioned in the Pāla records apparently as mercenary soldiers in the Pāla army.[2] It is also possible that originally all South Indians were known in Bengal by the genaal name Karṇāta just as at the present time they are Madrasis irrespective of their native place and mother tongue.

The entry of the Southerners into Bengal is evidenced at least from the days of king Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A.D.).[3] The crystallisation of the professional group of physicians into the Vaidya community may have begun from that age. That the process was sufficiently advanced during the rule of the Pālas seems to be clear from several indications. The *Cikitsāsaṅgraha* of Cakrapāṇidatta says that the authors' father Nārāyaṇa was the *Pātra* and *Rasavatyadhikārin* (superintendent of the culinary deparment) of the Gauḍa king (identified by a 16th century commentator with Nayapāla

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[1] See the section on the Karṇāṭas below.

[2] Cf. *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 153, text line 37.

[3] Cf. his relations with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

c. 1035-50 A.D.), that he was a Kulīna of the Lodhravalī family (i.e. the Lodhravalī branch of the Dattas among the Vaidyas) and that his brother, the physician Bhānu, was the *Antaraṅga* apparently of the same king.[1] An inscription of 1218 A.D., from Bhubaneswar in Orissa, mentions a Vaidya named Daṇḍapāṇidatta who belonged to the Śāṇḍilya *gotra*.[2] Among the Vaidyas of Bengal, those having the cognomen *Datta* belong usually to four *gotras*, viz. Kauśika, Kāśyapa, Śāṇḍilya and Maudgalya.[3]

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[1] *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, p. 316. A distinguished Vaidya historian, who regards the Vaidya as an offshoot of the Ambaṣṭha caste and the Vaidyāmdaṣṭha as evolved from the professional group of physicians, points to the absence of any definite reference to the Vaidya as a caste in Bengal before the 12th century A. D. (*ibid.*, pp. 590-91). But the fact that members of the Karaṇa (Kāyastha) family, represented by the author of the medical treatise called *Śabdapradīpa*, served the Candra and Pāla kings in the 11th and 12th centuries as court physicians only shows that some physicians preferred to remain outside the Vaidya community or some physician families claimed to be both Vaidya and Kāyastha as in the easternmost districts of Bengal in recent times.

[2] *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XXX, p. 234 and note 1. The Bhatera plates speaking of *Paṭṭanika* (minister) Vanamālikara as *Vaidyavaṁśa-pradīpa* belongs to the 13th century (*Hist. Beng.*, *op. cit.*, p. 590).

[3] *Candraprabhā*, p. 7.

CHAPTER VII

ANDHRA AND KARṆĀṬA

I

The speakers of Telugu or Tenugu, a member of the Dravidian family of languages, now call themselves Āndhra. The *Linguistic Survey of India* (IV, p. 577) reports, "The Telugu country is bounded towards the east by the Bay of Bengal from Barwa in the Ganjam district in the north to near Madras in the south. From Barwa the frontier line goes westwards through Ganjam to the Eastern Ghats and then southwards crosses the Sabari on the border of the Sunkam and Bijji taluks in the state of Bastar, and thence runs along the range of Bela Dila to the Indravati; it follows this river to its confluence with the Godavari, and then runs through Chanda cutting off the southern part of that district and farther eastwards including the southern border of the district of Wun. It then runs southwards to the Godavari at its confluence with the Manjira, and thence farther south towards Bidar where Telugu meets with Kanarese. The frontier line between the two forms of speech then runs almost due south through the dominions of the Nizam. The Telugu country farther occupies the north-eastern edge of Bellary, the greater eastern part of Anantapur and the eastern corner of Mysore. Through North Arcot and Chinglepu t, the border line then runs back to the sea." According to the report of the *Census of India,* 1961, the Telugu-speaking population numbers nearly 36,000,000.

Andhra as the name of a people is mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 18), together with the Puṇḍras,[1] Śabaras,

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[1] They are the people who founded the city of Puṇḍravardhana, modern Mahasthan in the Bogra District, Bengal. They might have originally dwelt nearer the Vindhyan region.

[2] The Śabaras are identified with the Savaras or Saoras of the Vizagapatam hills and the Savaris of the Gwalior territory, and with the Ṣuari of Pliny and the Sabarae of Ptolemy (*P.H.A.I.*, 4th ed., p. 79).

Pulindas[1] and Mūtības[2] who became outcastes as a result of the refusal of the fifty elder sons of Viśvāmitra to accept his adoption of S´unaḥśepa. The *S´āṅkhāyana S´rautasūtra* (XV) also mentions the Andhras, but omits the Pulindas from the list and reads Mūcīpa for Mūtība. Another interesting fact is that, while the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* calls the tribes *udāntyaḥ* (beyond the border), the *S´āṅkhāyana S´rautasūtra* has *udañcaḥ* (northern), and scholars think that the latter reading is wrong.[3] Migration was however a remarkable feature of Indian tribes in early times,[4] and it is not altogether impossible that originally the Andhras actually dwelt on the northern border of the Aryan-occupied portion of India or at least at the north of the land where the *Śāṅkhāyana* was composed. In any case, the Andhras were recognised as Nonaryans (*dasyu*) in the days of the *Aitareya* and *S´āṅkhāyana*. R. E. XIII of Aśoka mentions the Andhras together with the Palidas (obviously the same as the Pulindas) as a people within the dominions of the Maurya emperor, but says nothing about their habitat or social position. Early Classical authors[5] refer to 'the Andarae (Andhras) as a still more powerful race which possesses numerous villages and thirty towns defended by walls and towers and which supplied an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 1,000 elephants.' If this statement does not prove anything about the original home of the Andhras, it certainly speaks of their great power and prosperity.

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[1] Raychaudhuri thinks that Pulindanagara (capital city of the Pulindas) lay to the south-east of Daśārṇai i.e,. the Vidiśā region (*ibid.*, p. 79).

[2] The Mūtības (Mūcīpas or Muvīpas) are identified with Pliny's Modobae who are associated with the Uberae (=Śabaras?). The confusion regarding the spelling of the name may suggest that they are the same as the Mṛtapas of the *Mahābhāṣya* (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. XV, p. 637).

[3] *Vedic Index*, Vol.I, p. 23.

[4] Sircar, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, 1939, p. 11, note.

[5] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, 1926, p. 140. The statement appears to refer to the period before the Maurya age.

Srinivasa Aiyangar[1] thinks that the Andhras were originally a Vindhyan tribe whose course of migration was from west to east down the valley of the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā. Bhandarkar[2] points out that Andhrapura (capital city of the Andhras) is placed by the *Serivāṇija Jātaka* on the Telavāha river which he identifies with the modern Tel or Telingiri. The suggestion that the Andhras at some early period occupied the region about the Upper Deccan is possibly supported by the existence of the S´abaras in the Gwalior territory and of a Pulindanagara not very far from the Vidiśā region. Raychaudhuri however thinks that Andhrapura of the Jātaka may be identical with Bezwada.[3] Whatever might have been the original habitat of the Andhras, it is certain that the people were ruling over the district near the mouths of the Kṛṣṇā long before the time of the Pallava king S´ivaskandavarman (4th century A.D.). The epics, Purāṇas, works like the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* and the Classical authors place the Andhra people or their country in Dakṣiṇāpatha or the southern part of India. The Mayidavolu plates of S´ivaskandavarman mention Andhrāpatha having its headquarters at Dhānyakaṭa (Amarāvatī).[4]

The aboriginal tribes of India must have been thought of as alien and antagonistic by the Aryan people when the latter entered India. The bitterness gradually calmed as the two groups lived side by side for some time and became more or less influenced by one another's culture. The cerebral consonants which are used even in the *Ṛgveda*, but are doubtless borrowed from the Dravidians, offer a definite proof

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1. *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, pp. 276 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, 1918, p. 71.
3. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 78.
4. For the early history of the Andhras, see *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. Majumdar, pp. 191 ff.

that the Aryans often took their wives from the Dravidian tribes and thereby very soon modified the speech of their descendants.[1] With such a state of things, it is only natural that the Aryans very soon could not think of a society without their neighbours. The case was the same with foreign peoples, and Patañjali's reference to the Śakas (Scythians) and Yavanas (Greeks) as 'clean' Śūdras is not at all unintelligible.[2] But a more or less clear picture of the position of aboriginal and foreign tribes in relation to the orthodox Brahmanical society is first noticed in law-books like the *Manusmṛti*, supplemented by the works of Yājñavalkya and other later law-givers.

The *Manusmṛti* tries to connect all tribes living within or on the borders of India by blood relations, in the same manner as peoples of other parts of the world nourish the theory of a common ancestor for all men. It recognises the four *varṇas* or social grades[3] together with the groups called Vrātyas and Dasyus.

"The Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya are the three *varṇas* which are the twice-born ; the fourth is the Śūdra which is one *jāti* ; there is no fifth (X.4).

"Among all *varṇas*, only those who are produced by fathers on the virgins of their own *varṇas* wedded in the natural order are to be regarded as of the [same *varṇa* as the fathers] by virtue of their birth (X. 5).

"The sons that the twice-born men beget on wives of equal *varṇa* but who for not fulfilling their sacred duties become excluded from the *Sāvitrī*[1] should be designated as *Vrātyas* (X. 20).

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[1] See above, pp. 104-05.

[2] *I.H.Q.*, XV, pp. 636 ff. The *Gautama Dharmasūtra* (IV. 21) regards the Yavanas as sprung from Śūdra females and Kṣatriya males. See *CHI*, Vol. 1, p 240.

[3] The terms *Brāhmaṇa* (priestly class), *Kṣatriya* (fighting class) and *Vaiśya* (common folk) have derivative meanings. *Śūdra* which has no such meaning appears to have been derived from a particular Nonaryan tribe of that name, which lived in the Punjab region. For the Śūdra tribe (Greek *Sudrae*), see Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

"All the races of the world which are outside the pale of the people born of the mouth, the arms, the thighs and the feet (i.e. Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra), whether speaking the barbaric (*mleccha*) or the refined (*ārya*) language, are called *Dasyu* (X. 45)."

All other *jātis*, i.e., tribes or tribal castes, are sprung, according to the *Manusmṛti*, from an intermixture of the above classes. The general rule regarding the social position is that the issues of higher class fathers and lower class mothers are considered purer than those born of lower class fathers and higher class mothers. "If a child is somehow born to a Brāhmaṇa father by a Nonaryan mother, and another to a Nonaryan father by a Brāhmaṇa mother—with which of these would the superiority lie ? (X. 66). The decision is that—one born to an Ārya by an Anārya woman may be an Ārya in quality; but one born to an Anārya even by an Ārya woman is always an Anārya (X. 67)." The theory however recognises the elevation of a low caste to a high one as a result of the gradual diminution of 'low' blood by the infiltration of 'pure' blood. "If the child born of a Śūdra woman and a Brāhmaṇa goes on being wedded to a person of superior class—the inferior attains the superior *jāti* within the seventh generation (X. 64)," and, *vice versa*, "The Śūdra attains the position of the Brāhmaṇa and the Brāhmaṇa sinks to the position of the Śūdra; the same should be understood to be the case with the offspring of the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya (X. 65)."[1]

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[1] According to another reading, 'who are born of unfaithful mothers.' Medhātithi says, "The assertion that these peoples have become 'low-born' is based upon the fact that in these countries we do not meet with any clear division of the four *varṇas*." In R. E. XIII of Aśoka, the Yavana country is said to have had no Brāhmaṇa or Śramaṇa in its population while the *Majjhimanikāya* (II. 149) speaks of the existence only of two *varṇas*, viz. *Ārya* and *Dāsa*, in the lands of the Yavanas and Kāmbojas.

The attached table may be useful in showing the interconnections of the Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra, Vrātya and Dasyu producing the numerous tribal and professional castes according to the theory of the *Manusmṛti.*

Of course it is not possible to accept the scheme of the *Manusmṛti* literally. A cursory glance at it convinces anybody that the attempt to connect all peoples to the conventional scheme of the four *varṇas* is arbitrary and absurd. Of more than fifty names of the so-called mixed or degraded castes, the Malla, Magadha, Ābhīra, Andhra, Āvantya, Kārūṣa, Khasa, Kirāta, Śaka, Pauṇḍra, Ambaṣṭha, Kāmboja, Pahlava, Pāraśava, Darada, Drāviḍa, Vāṭadhāna, Sairindhra, Coḍa or Oḍra, Veṇa, Yavana, Cīna, Sāttvata, Meda, Niṣāda, etc., are known to have been tribes or communities from the lists furnished by the epics, Purāṇas, works like the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, and other sources.[2] The inclusion of such well-known names as the Yavana (Greek), Śaka (Scythian), etc., in the list of degraded Kṣatriyas and the Ābhīra, Andhra, Ambaṣṭha, etc., in that of the mixed castes makes the spirit of the arbitrary scheme very clear. It must be noticed that particular professions have been assigned to particular mixed castes; this fact and the very names of many of the castes prove that a good many of the list indicate professional castes (cf. Naṭa, Sairindhra, Sūta, Antyāvasāyin, etc.). Names like Māgadha,

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[1] According to Medhātithi on the principle enunciated here, if a maiden born from a Śūdrā to a Brahmaṇa, is wedded to a Brāhmaṇa and the girl born of this marriage is again married to a Brāhmaṇa, and this goes on for seven generations, then in the seventh generation the child born is a regular Brāhmaṇa. The child born from the Brāhmaṇa and Vaiśyā attains the superior caste in the fifth generation, and that from the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriyā in the third generation.

[2] See, e.g., *Mahābhārata*, VI. 1.9; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, LVII-LVIII *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIV, XVI ; etc.

Āvantya, Vaideha, etc., may also refer to geographical divisions rather than tribes. It is therefore reosonable to suppose that all the mixed or degraded castes represent in fact some early sect or tribe or community. The Andhras, for example, live in a particular region of India and are more than 3½ crores in population. If they were actually offsprings of Brāhmaṇa-Vaiśya-Śūdra, how is it that such admixture was impossible in other parts of India? Their huge population is obviously against the idea of mixed origin.

The position of the castes in the table and the notes regarding their profession are much more important from the historical standpoint than the scheme itself. It will be seen that the Andhras are placed clearly in the lowest grade, and this is echoed in the passage referring to the society as—*prativāsino brāhmaṇ-ottarāṁś=ca mahottam- ottama-kuṭumbi- puroga-med-āndhra-caṇḍāla-paryantān=yathārhaṁ mānayati bodhayati samādiśati ca*—in a number of early medieval inscriptions such as those of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar.[1] It is really difficult to understand why the Drāviḍas (the present Tamil-speaking people) are included in the list of Vrātya-kṣatriyas, but the position given to the Andhras (the present Telugu-speaking people) is no better than that of the Caṇḍāla. It is not easy to determine the real causes for the leaders of the orthodox Brāhmaṇical society to look down upon the Andhras in the age of the law books such as the *Manusmṛti*. But attention may be drawn to a few facts.

The Andhra country was in early times one of the greatest strongholds of Buddhism in India. The great *stūpas* of Dhānyakaṭaka (Amarāvatī) and Vijayapura (in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley), the *stūpas* at Jaggayyapeṭa, Ghaṇṭaśāla and other localities of the country, and renowned sects of Ācāryas, like the Pūrvaśailīyas, Aparaśailīyas, etc., go to prove the extent of heretical influence over the Andhra country. This fact may have influenced the attitude of the staunch Brāhmanists towards the Andhras at least to some extent. From the annexation of the Deccan to the Magadha empire probably by the Nandas in the fourth century B. C. till the rise of the Śātavāvanas of the Andhra race in the first century B.C., the Andhras do not appear to have had any political importance. This may of course explain the fact that the king of the Andhras is hardly noticed in the lists of Indian kings found in connection with an Epic or Purāṇic description of such events as a *Svayaṁvara*, a *Rājasūya* and the like. The political condition appears to be the same in the 4th century A.D. when Hariṣeṇa mentions several principalities in the Andhra area and Kālidāsa, the poet of the Gupta age, does not mention the Andhra king either in connection with Raghu's *Digvijaya* or with Indumatī's *Svayaṁvara*. It is however difficult to understand why the important position held by the Śātavāhanas did not influence the attitude of the Brahmanical society.

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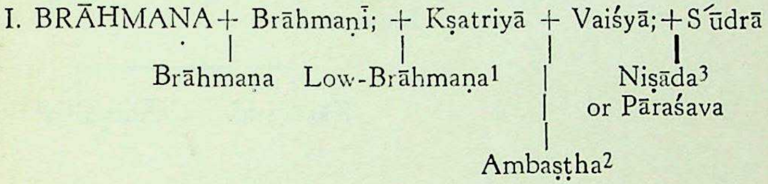
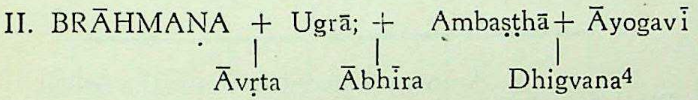
[1] See, e.g., *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 96.

More important in this connection seems to be the fact that the Aryan authors were familiar more with the backward than with the advanced elements in the population of the Andhra country which was inhabited by a large number of primitive tribes. That many of these backward people went to the various prosperous kingdoms for earning their livelihood by working as sweepers, etc., seems to be suggested by the Pāla inscriptions referred to above. We know that, of the South Indian peoples, the Karṇāṭas and Drāviḍas are mentioned along with the Hūṇas, Mālavas, etc., amongst the mercenary soldiers in the Pāla army, while the Andhras are mentioned in the company of the Medas and Caṇḍālas.

TABLES SHOWING INTER-CONNECTIONS OF CASTES


I. BRĀHMANA + Brāhmaṇī; + Kṣatriyā + Vaiśyā; + Śūdrā
Brāhmaṇa
Low-Brāhmaṇa[1]
Niṣāda[3] or Pāraśava
Ambaṣṭha[2]


II. BRĀHMANA + Ugrā; + Ambaṣṭhā + Āyogavī
Āvṛta
Ābhīra
Dhigvana[4]

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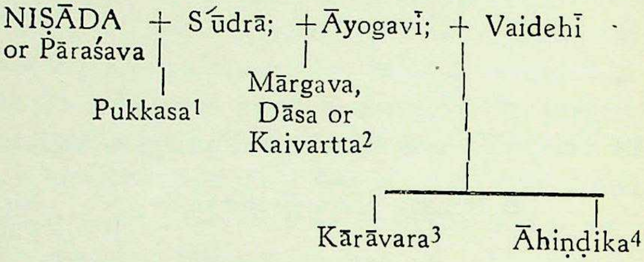
[1] Medhātithi says, "The son of a Brāhmaṇa from a Kṣatriyā or of a Kṣatriya from a Vaiśyā is 'equal' to the father, but not the very same... This declaration of 'equality' implies that the sons are superior to the mother, but inferior to the father." Later authorities give distinct names to these mixed castes. The issue of Brāhmaṇa and Vaiśyā is thus called Mūrdhābhiṣikta whose profession is *hastyaśvarathaśikṣā* and *astradhāraṇa*.

[2] They are 'touchable' and their profession is the art of healing (X. 47). According to Gautama, the son of Brāhmaṇa and Vaiśyā is called Bhṛjjakaṇṭa.

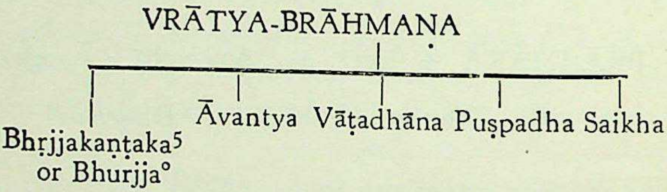
[3] Their profession is the killing of fish (X. 48). Medhātithi thinks that Niṣāda born of Brāhmaṇa and Śudrā and Niṣāda father of Pukkasa, etc., are different.

[4] They worked in leather (X. 49).

III.


NIṢĀDA or Pāraśava
+ Śūdrā;
+ Āyogavī;
+ Vaidehī
Pukkasa1
Mārgava, Dāsa or Kaivartta2
Kārāvara3
Āhiṇḍika4

IV.


VRĀTYA-BRĀHMAṆA
Bhṛjjakaṇṭaka5 or Bhurjja°
Āvantya
Vāṭadhāna
Puṣpadha
Saikha

---

1. Their profession is the killing and catching of animals living underground (X. 49).

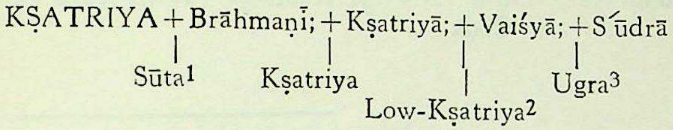
2. The name Kaivartta is used by the people of Āryāvarta. They live on boats (X. 34).

3. They work in leather (X. 36).

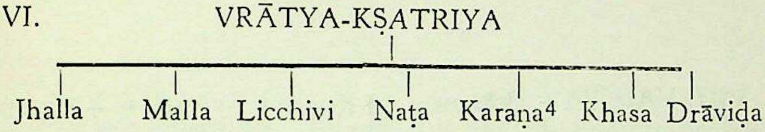
4. Medhātithi says, "The livelihood of these men may be the one implied by the name itself (i.e. snake-catching), or something else may be found "Kullūka suggests "watchman on the outside of jails" (X. 37).

5, See p. 129, note 1 above.

V.


KṢATRIYA + Brāhmaṇī; + Kṣatriyā; + Vaiśyā; + Śūdrā
Sūta[1]
Kṣatriya
Low-Kṣatriya[2]
Ugra[3]

VI.


VRĀTYA-KṢATRIYA
Jhalla
Malla
Licchivi
Naṭa
Karaṇa[4]
Khasa
Drāviḍa

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[1] Their business is the management of horses and chariots (X. 47)· According to some authorities, the issue of Vaiśya and Kṣatriyā is also Sūta whose business is that of a professional bard.

[2] See p. 129 note 1 above. According to some authorities, they are called Māhiṣya and their duty is *nṛtya-gīta-nakṣatra-jñāna* and *śasyarakṣā*. Māhiṣya appears also to have been the name of a people ; cf Māhiṣaka in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 46. 125.

[3] They are 'touchable' and their profession is the killing and catching of animals living underground as of the Kṣattṛs and the Pukkasas (X. 49). The Ugras are of the stuff of the Kṣatriya and Śūdra and are cruel in their deeds and dealings (X. 9). They are called Yavana in the *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, IV. 21 (*CHI*, Vol. I, p. 240).

[4] The writer caste ; cf. the titles Karaṇika or Kāyastha, though sometimes we get such officers as Karaṇa-Kāyastha. See Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions*, Nos. 34, 49, 188, 207, 350, 451, 1828, etc., etc. See also p. 132, note 4 below.

VII. DEGRADED KṢATRIYA

Pauṇḍraka[1] Oḍra or Coḍa Drāviḍa Kāmboja Yavana Śaka Pārada

Pahlava Cīna Kirāta Darada Khasa

VIII. VAIŚYA + Brāhmaṇī; + Kṣatriyā; + Vaiśyā; + Śūdrā

Vaideha[2] Māgadha[3] Vaiśya Low-Vaiśya[4]

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[1] "But, by the omission of the sacred rites and also by their neglect of Brāhmaṇas (or, by transgressing the injunctions pertaining to Brāhmaṇas; or, for not consulting the council of Brāhmaṇas on questions regarding expiatory rites, etc.), the following Kṣatriya castes have gradually sunk to the position of the low-born (*Vṛṣala*)" (X. 43). Note that the Drāviḍa and Khasa are common to the two lists and that the 'castes' of the first list are described (X. 22) as "born of the Vrātya-Kṣatriya."

2. They are 'touchable' and their profession is the service of women (X, 47).

3. See p. 131, note 1 above. Their business is trade (X. 47)

4. See p. 131, note 4 above. They are called Karaṇa by some authorities The duty of a Karaṇa (as also of Pāraśava and Ugra) is *dvijātiśuśrūṣā*, *dhanadhāny-ādhyakṣatā*, *rāja-sevā* and *durgāntaḥpura-rakṣā* (Kullūka on Manu, X. 6).

IX. VAISY'A + Ambaṣṭhā ; + Āyogavī ; + Kāravarī ; + Niṣādī

Veṇa[1] Maitreya[2] Andhra[3] Meda[4]

X. VRĀTYA-VAIS'YA

Sudhanvan Ācārya Kārūṣa Vijanman Maitra Sāttvata or S'āśvata

XI. ŚŪDRA + Brāhmaṇī; + Kṣatriyā; + Vaiśyā; + Śūdrā, + Niṣādī

Āyogava[6] S'ūdra Kukkuṭaka

Kṣattṛ[5] + Ugrā

S'vapāka

Caṇḍāla

---

[1] Their profession is the beating of drums; cf. the root *veṇ*, "to play on an instrument."

[2] "The Maitreyaka who is like the *Madhūka* and who serves as the bell-ringer at sunrise [to awaken the king or a rich man]" (X. 33).

[3] The Andhras and Medas have their dwellings outside the village (X.36). The profession of the above two and of the Cuñcus and Madgus is the killing of wild animals. Cuñcu appears to be the same as the Cañcuka of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, XIV.

[4] See note 3 above.

[5] They are 'touchable'.

[6] Their business is carpentry (X. 48). The Āyogava women wear the clothes of the dead, are ignoble and eat despised food (X. 35).

XII. CAṆḌĀLA[1] + Vaidehī ; + Pukkasī ; + Niṣādī
Pāṇḍu-Sopāka[2] Sopāka[3] Antyāvasāyin[4]

XIII. DASYU + Āyogavī
Sairindhra[5]

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[1] They are the lowest of men (X 12). "The dwellings of the Caṇḍālas and Śvapacas shall be outside the village; they shall be made *Apapātra*, and their wealth shall consist of dogs and donkeys (X. 51). The clothes of dead bodies shall be their dress; they shall eat in broken dishes; their ornaments shall be of iron; and they shall be constantly wandering (X. 52). One who follows the law shall not seek intercourse with them; their transactions shall be among themselves, and their marriages with their equals (X. 53). Their food should be given through others and in a broken dish; they shall not wander about in villages or cities during the night (X. 54). During the day they may go about on business distinguished by royal signs ; they shall carry out corpses of people without relations; such is the law (X. 55). They shall always execute criminals in accordance with law under orders of the king, and they shall take away the clothes, beds and ornaments of those executed (X. 56)." For *Apapātra* see Madhātithi on X. 51; cf. *aniravasita* of the *Mahābhāṣya* (*I. H. Q.*, XV, pp. 636 ff.). Verse X. 50, which refers to the base-born castes in general, says. "Near worshipped trees and cremation grounds, on hills and in groves, these shall dwell, duly marked, subsisting by their respective occupations. If a man touches a Caṇḍāla, he should purify himself by a bath" (V. 85)

[2] They deal in bamboos (X. 37). According to Medhātithi, they buy and sell bamboos, and make mats and other things of the kind.

[3] They live by executing criminals and are wicked and despised by good people (X. 38). See Medhātithi for a different interpretation.

[4] They live by burning the dead body in the cremation ground and are despised even by outcastes (X. 39).

[5] They are skilled in toilet and attendance and, though not slaves, make their living like slaves, and also live by catching animals (X. 32).

II

Some of the earliest dynasties of Kannaḍa or Karṇāṭa origin that settled outside the Karṇāṭa or Karṇāṭaka country, i. e. the Kannaḍa-speaking region in the western part of South India, are the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga, the Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgī and probably also the Kadambas of Kaliṅga.[1] The Gaṅgas settled in Kaliṅga before the end of the 5th century A.D., the era used in their records having started from a date falling in the period 496-98 A. D. They were therefore the earliest known people of Karṇāṭaka settled outside their original home. Though the circumstances leading to the establishment of the Cālukyas in the Veṅgī region in the first half of the 7th century are quite well known, we do not know anything about the settlement of the Gaṅgas and Kadambas in the area about the Srikakulam District.

The royal charters recording grants of land of the kings of some of the early medieval dynasties of Eastern and Northern India were usually addressed to their subordinates. In the list of such addressees, including feudatory rulers, officers and others, the Karṇāṭas figure along with a few other peoples in the charters of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar. There is little doubt that the reference is to the mercenary soldiers in the armies of the kings in question. The Nalanda plate of Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A.D.) is the earliest Pāla record that mentions such mercenaries;[1] but it mentions only the Gauḍas, Mālavas, Khaśas, Kulikas and Hūṇas and not the Karṇāṭas.[2] Later Pāla epigraphs like the Monghyr plate of Devapāla (c. 810-54 A.D.), however, add the Karṇāṭas and Lāṭas to the above list.[3] The latest Pāla charters, e. g., the Manahali plate[4] of Madanapāla (c. 1144-61 A.D.), further expand the list of mercenaries by adding the Coḍas to it. Thus the Karṇāṭa soldiers continuously served in the Pāla army for more than three centuries.

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[1] For the Eastern Gaṅgas, see *The Classical Age*, pp. 214 ff., and *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 139 ff., and for the Eastern Cālukyas, pp. 250 ff., and pp. 132 ff. thereof. For the Eastern Kadamba chiefs who were subordinate to the Eastern Gaṅgas, see *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 144.

The fact that the Karṇāṭas do not figure in such lists of mercenaries in the charters of other areas[5] appear to suggest that the Karṇāta mercenaries preferred service in the Pāla army. One of the reasons for this preference may be the matrimonial relations of the Pāla dynasty with the family of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Karṇātaka. It is well known that Raṇṇādevī, the queen of Dharmapāla himself, was the daughter of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief named Parabala.[6] Similarly Bhāgyadevī, the daughter of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief named Tuṅga, was the queen of king Rājyapāla (c. 911-35 A.D.). while one of the queens of king Vigrahapāla III (c. 1055-81 A.D.), was the sister of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mathana or Mahana who ruled over Aṅga or East Bihar as a viceroy of the Pālas.[7] Mathana's brother's son, *Mahāpratihāra* Śivarāja, was a leader of the forces of Rāmapāla (c. 1084-1130 A.D.) in the latter's war with the Kaivarta king Bhīma of North Bengal.[1] Mathana's daughter Śaṅkarādevī[2] was married to the chief Devarakṣita of the Chikkora family of Pīṭhī or Bodhgayā, while his sons, the *Mahāmāṇḍalikas* Kānhuradeva and Suvarṇadeva, along with Bhīmayaśas, a successor of their brother-in-law Devarakṣita, fought on the side of Rāmapāla in the same war.[3]

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[1] The Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla does not refer to the mercenaries. See *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 16.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 291,

[3] *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 30.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 153.

[5] Cf., e. g., the grants of certain kings of the Kumaun-Garhwal region, who flourished in the 9th and 10th centuries A. D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 280, 287, 294).

[6] Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 288.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 304, 339-40.

The marriage between the families of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mathana and Chikkora Devarakṣita is interesting because both the houses hailed from the Karṇāṭa country. Devarakṣita is called *Sindhurāja* in the commentary on the *Rāmacarita* (II.8), and we know that the Kannaḍa family name *Chinda* or *Sinda* was often Sanskritised as *Sindhu* and associated with the Sindhu or Indus.[4] While the Sindas of Karṇāta claimed both Nāga and Sindhu origin,[5] the Chindakas (i.e. Chindas) of Madhya Pradesh claimed Nāga origin only.[6] The Sindas of Gaya claimed Sindhu origin and descent from the lunar race. The Madhya Pradesh and Gaya branches of the family thus may have left Karṇāṭaka when the fabrication of the mythical genealogy was still in the formative stage. This suggestion seems to be supported by the history of another Chinda family of North India known from the Dewal (Pilibhit District,

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 340.

[2] Her daughter Kumāradevī was the queen of the celebrated Gāhaḍavāla monarch Govindacandra of Vārāṇasī. We know many other instances of matrimonial alliances between the ruling families of Karṇāṭaka and such dynasties as the Guptas, Vākāṭakas, Kalacuris and others.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 340-41, 387.

[4] Cf. *The Struggle for Empire*, ed. Majumdar, p. 215.

[5] See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 572ff. ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 230ff.; Sewell's List, pp. 214 ff.

[6] See *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 214 ff.

U.P.) inscription[1] of Lalla, son of Malhaṇa from the latter's wife Aṇahilā of the Culukeśvara (i. e. Cālukya) family, probably a ruling house of Karnāṭa origin. This inscription, which also mentions Malhaṇa's elder brother Bhūṣaṇa and father Vairavarman, is dated in Vikrama 1049 (992 A.D.). It is interesting to note that the Chindas of Pilibhit claimed descent from the sage Cyavana and do not refer to their Nāga or Sindhu origin probably because they had left their original home in Karnāṭa at a still earlier date.[2]

These facts show that the ploples of Karṇāṭaka played an important part in the political life of various parts of Eastern and Northern India, especially of Bengal and Bihar in the age of the Pālas. The rise of the Senas of Bengal and the establishment of a Karṇāṭa house in North Bihar in the 11th century A. D. has to be explained in this light. It is well known that, according to Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, during the latter part of the reign of the Cālukya Someśvara I (c. 1044-68 A. D.), his son Vikramāditya VI undertook expeditions in Eastern India, where he is said to have defeated the kings of Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa, and scholars have suggested that probably these raids brought into various parts of North-Eastern India bodies of his countrymen who soon afterwards succeeded in carving out principalities for themselves.[3] It should, however, be pointed out in this connection that, while the genuineness of Bilhaṇa's statement cannot be determined and may be suspected in the absence of corroborative evidence, we have definite proof of Karṇāṭa connections with East Indian politics from an earlier date, i. e. at least from the beginning of the 9th century when the Pāla king Dharmapāla ended his rule.

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[1] Bhandarkar's List, No. 92 ; cf., in addition to the reference cited therein, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p, 345 and note 15.

[2] See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 82 and note 1.

[3] Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

Vīrasena, the progenitor of the Sena family of Bengal, is described in the records of his descendants as one of the rulers of Dākṣiṇātya, and a member of the family, named Sāmantasena (c. 1050-75 A.D.), is stated to have been the ornament of a community (called Brahma-Kṣatriya or Karṇāṭa-Kṣatriya), the members of which were defenders of the Karṇāṭa country.[1] The statement of an inscription[2] of Ballālasena that his great-grandfather Sāmantasena was born in the family of *Rājaputras* of the lunar race, who were ornaments of the Rāḍhā country (South-West Bengal), suggests that the Senas settled in Bengal sometime before the middle of the 11th century. Sāmanta and his son Hemantasena (c. 1075-97 A. D.) were no doubt feudatories of the Pālas , while Hemanta's son Vijayasena (c. 1097-1159 A. D.), who married a princess of the Śūra dynasty of Bengal, established his sway over the whole of Bengal at the expense of the Pāla king Madanapāla (c. 1144-61 A. D.) and the contemporary Varman ruler of East Bengal about the middle of the 12th century. Vijaya's empire was preserved intact by his son and successor Ballālasena (c. 1159-79 A. D.) who married the Cālukya princess Rāmadevī and conquered the eastern parts of Bihar. But his son Lakṣmaṇasena (c. 1179-1206 A. D.) was ousted from the western part of his empire by the Turkish Musalmans about the beginning of the 13th century and repaired to East Bengal where his descendants ruled till the middle of that century. The history of the Senas is a remarkable chapter in the annals of Bengal. They were not only great patrons of literature, but

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 355.
2. *Loc. cit.*

were responsible for the revival of Brahmanical Hinduism after the long rule of the Buddhist Pālas. According to tradition, Ballālasena reorganised the social system of the higher communities of Bengal and was greatly responsible for the development of the peculiar social order known as Kulīnism.[1]

In Mithilā or North Bihar, a Karṇāṭa chief named Nānyadeva (c. 1097-1147 A.D.) established himself on the ruins of the empire of the Buddhist Pālas and extended his power over Nepal at the expense of the Malla kings. After his death, his dominions appear to have been divided into two halves, one occupied by his son Gaṅgadeva (c. 1147-88 A.D.) and the other including portions of Nepal by his other son Malladeva. The history of the Karṇāṭa rule in Mithilā is obscure, while that of their rule in Nepal has also not yet been satisfactorily studied. King Gaṅga is said to have been succeeded by his son Narasiṁha (c. 1188-1227 A. D.) who is supposed to have been followed on the throne by Rāmasiṁha (c. 1227-85 A. D.) and Harasiṁha or Harisiṁha (c. 1285-1324 A. D.), although the account is doubtful and little authentic information about the rulers in question is available.[2] Harasiṁha or Harisiṁha was defeated by Sultān Ghiyāsuddīn Balban of Delhi in 1324 A.D. and is stated to have fled to Nepal on the annexation of the Karṇāṭa kingdom of Mithilā to the Muslim empire.

The Karṇāta period of the annals of Mithilā is as important as the Sena epoch in the history of Bengal. Unfortunately neither the political nor the cultural history of the period has been satisfactorily worked out. Harasiṁha or Harisiṁha, the last Karṇāta king of Mithilā, is credited by local tradition with the reorganisation of the social system of Mithilā, just as Ballālasena is endowed with a similar achievement in Bengal.

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[1] For the detailed history of the Senas, see *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol I, pp. 205 ff. See also above, pp. 29. 116 ff.

[2] See *ABORI*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 91 ff. ; U. Thakur, *History of Mithilā*, pp. 227 ff,

The expression *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* is used in the records of certain rulers of Kannaḍa origin in the sense of an official designation indicating the head of a small territorial unit called *rāṣṭra* or a group of villages. This official designation was often stereotyped as a family name and a number of Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruling families are known to have flourished in and outside Karṇātaka in the different ages of history. The most important of these families is the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa, who ruled over wide areas of Southern India sometimes with parts of the North from the middle of the 8th to the later half of the 10th century A. D. The prominent monarchs of this family were Dhruva (783-94 A. D.), Govinda III (794-814 A. D.), Indra III (915-28 A. D.) and Kṛṣṇa III (939-68 A. D.). In the North, Dhruva defeated Vatsarāja (c. 780-810 A.D.), the Gurjara-Pratihāra king of the Malwa-Rajasthan region. His son Govinda III defeated Vatsarāja's son and successor Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 90[illegible]-33 A. D.) who had ousted king Cakrāyudha of Kanauj and established himself at that city while king Dharmapāla of Bengal and Bihar and his ally Cakrāyudha surrendered to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch and sought his help against the Gurjara-Pratihāra king. Indra III sacked the city of Kanauj which was the capital of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, while the success of Kṛṣṇa III in the North is clearly indicated by the discovery of an inscription of his in the former Jaso state in Baghelkhand. The success of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army in the South was the most conspicuous during the reign of Kṛṣṇa III who conquered as far down as the sea and also invaded Ceylon.[1]

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[1] For a detailed history of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, see A. S. Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times.*

Like the empire of the Cālukyas of Bādāmi, the dominions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakhe a included almost the entire Marāṭhī-speaking area in the North-Western Deccan together with a very considerable portion of the Gujarātī-speaking region lying to its north. This tract was thus ruled by the Karṇātas, i. e. the viceroys of the Cālukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors, for several hundreds of years from the 7th century onwards. The history of such feudatory families of Karṇāṭa origin flourshing in this area as the Cālukyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Sendrakas is well known to the students of early Indian history. The Caulukyas of Gujarāt (from the 10th to the 13th century) were probably also of Karṇāṭa extraction and may have been related to the Early Cālukyas of Bādāmi. The Paramāras who later ruled for several centuries over Malwa were originally viceroys of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa in the southern parts of Gujarāt. But whether they were of Karṇāta origin can not be determined in the present state of our knowledge. Similar is the case with the Yādavas of Devagiri, who were originally feudatories of the Later Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa.

We have seen above that the official designation *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* originated in Karṇāṭaka and that it was adopted as a family name by a number of ruling families. In the Kannaḍa-speaking area, the Raṭṭas of Saundatti[1] represented the most notable Rāṣṭrakūṭa family besides the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Among other Rāṣṭrakūṭa families flourishing in the land lying to the south of the Vindhyas, mention may be made of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura (6th and 7th centuries), of Berar (7th and 8th centuries) and of Orissa (11th and 12th centuries). The history of all these families has been discussed by us else where.[1] But there were also many Rāṣṭrakūṭa families ruling over different areas in other parts of India and there is little doubt that all of them originally hailed from Karṇāta, although in many cases the Kannaḍa origin of the families was gradually forgotten with the lapse of time.

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[1] See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 549 ff.

Among the Rāṣṭrakūṭa families of North India, the earliest is the house known from an inscription at Pathari, about 40 miles to the north-east of Bhilsa in Madhya Pradesh. The three generations mentioned in the record ruled between c. 760 and 865 A. D.[2] Further north, nine generations of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Kanauj are known to have flourished between c. 1050 and 1210 A. D. The most important members of this dynasty were Gopāla (c. 1090 A. D.), his son Madanapāla (c. 1119-25 A. D.) and a later ruler named Lakṣmaṇapāla (c. 1202 A. D.).[3]

In Western India, the earliest Rāṣṭrakūṭa families are those of Hastikuṇḍi (modern Hathundi) in the Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan and of Dhanop near Shahpura in the Udaipur Division of the same State. Five generations of the former family are known to have flourished in the period between 900 and 1000 A.D.[4] while the latter ruled roughly between 950

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1. For the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura and Berar, see *The Classical Age*, pp. 199 ff., and for those of Orissa, cf. *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 221-22. To the account of the Mānapura house, we may now add that Vibhurāja of the Hingniberdi plates (*Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 174 ff.) and Dejja-mahārāja of the Gokak plates (*ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 289 ff.) may have belonged to the same family. Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govindarāja, the son of Śivarāja and grandson of Nannappa and a feudatory of Cālukya Vikramāditya II of Bādāmi, probably also belonged to the same house (cf. *The Classical Age*, pp. 199, 200 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 147). For the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malwa, see *ibid*, Vol. XXXII, pp 112 ff.

2. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 557 ff.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 557 ff.

4. *Ibid*, pp 560 ff.

and 1010 A.D.[1] Four generations of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa or Raṭhaḍā family of Bithu near Pali in the Jodhpur Division flourished in the period c. 1200-1315 A.D.[2] An inscription from Veraval near Junagarh, dated in 1384 A. D., speaks of a ruler named Bharma of the Rāṣṭroḍa or Rāṣṭrakūṭa family.

The Prakrit form of *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* is *Raṭṭhaüḍa*[3] and *Rāṭhoḍa* is a modification of the latter. The Rāṭhors (i. e. Rāṭhoḍas) of Rajasthan were regarded in the medieval age as one of the most notable Rajput clans, their Kannaḍa origin having been forgotten long ago just as the later Senas were never regarded as anything else than Bengalis. Because marriage in royal families in ancient and medieval India, and even in quite recent times, was hardly confined to the communities to which the particular kings belonged, it was easy for the members of a ruling family to be regarded as natives of their new homeland.

Besides the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, there were many other ruling families of Kannaḍa origin which flourished far away from Karṇāṭaka during the medieval period. We have referred above to some such dynasties and have discussed elsewhere the history of the following Karṇāṭa dynasties, viz. the Chindaka-Nāgas of Bastar and Chhattisgarh and the Tailapavaṁśīs of Orissa.[4] We have also mentioned the Chinda ruling family in Bihar, whose relations with the members of the Chindaka-Nāga family ruling in Madhya Pradesh are unknown.[5]

The system of designating administrative and territorial units in relation to the number of *grāmas* in them was very popular in Karṇāṭaka in early times. Thus the three Mahārāṣṭras forming the dominions of Cālukya Pulakeśin II (610-42

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1. *Ibid.*, pp. 562-63.
2. *Ibdi.*, pp. 563 ff.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 565.
4. See *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 214 ff., 223,
5. Cf. *JASB, N. S.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 23-25.

A.D.) of Bādāmi are stated to have comprised 99,000 *grāmas* while there are numerous territorial and administrative units designated as follows: Gaṅgavāḍi-96000, Banavāsi-12000, Tardavāḍi-1000, Pānuṅgal-500, Purigere-300, Masavāḍi-140, Kuknūr-30, etc.[1] Outside Karṇāṭaka, such designations of territorial and administrative units are found in some cases in the medieval records of Gujarat and Malwa. This may be explained by the fact that the former region formed a part of the Karṇāṭaka empire for several centuries during the early medieval period, while the latter territory was ruled in the medieval age by the Paramāras who were originally feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Karṇāṭaka. There are only a few instances of the same kind of territorial names in other parts of India, though it is difficult to say whether Karṇāṭa settlers were responsible for any or all of them.

There is a general tendency among scholars to describe the alphabet used in the early inscriptions discovered in the countries of Indonesia and Indochina as Pallava-grantha and to speak of the expansion of Indo-Aryan culture in those territories from the Coromandel Coast during the rule of the Pallavas.[2] These views are unwarranted. In the first place, the alphabet used in the Pallava inscriptions between the 4th and 6th centuries A.D. cannot be called Pallava-grantha, but is in reality the Late Brāhmī common to the southern and western parts of India. Secondly, the early inscriptions of the lands beyond the Bay of Bengal are mostly written in verse like the epigraphs of the Early Kadambas and unlike those of the Early Pallavas. Thirdly, the box-headed alphabet used in the inscriptions of king Bhadravarman of Campā (South Annam) is not characteristic of Early Pallava inscriptions, but is generally found in the epigraphic records of Central India and the Upper Deccan as well as in the Kannaḍa-speaking western regions of South India. Fourthly, the Śaka era introduced in Indo-China and Indonesia about the 6th century A.D. was never used in the inscriptions of the Pallavas and it was the Cālukyas of Bādāmi (from the 6th to the 8th century) who were responsible for the association of the name Śaka with the said era and the popularity of its use in the present Kannaḍa- and Marāṭhī-speaking areas. These facts make it clear that the Karṇāṭas played an important role in the spread of Indian culture in the lands beyond the Bay of engal.[1]

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[1] See Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 198 ff.

[2] See, e.g., *JRASB*, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 1 ff.

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[1] See Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 202 ff.

CHAPTER VIII

TRIVEDIN AND CATURVEDIN

The value of the traditions recorded in the *Skanda Purāṇa* as sources of the early medieval history of India was demonstrated by H. C. Raychaudhuri who traced a story about Bhoja I (c. 836-85 A.D.), the Gujara-Pratīhāra emperor of Kanauj, in the Vastrāpatha-māhātmya in the Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa section of the above Purāṇa.[1] Attention of scholars may be drawn to another historical tradition about an eighth century king of Kanauj in the section called Dharmāraṇya-khaṇḍa belonging to the Brahma-khaṇḍa of the *Skanda Purāṇa*.[2] The story, which is set forth on the background of an attempt of the Trivedi-Brāhmaṇas to belittle the social position of the Caturvedins, runs as follows.

There was a holy land called Dharmāraṇya famous in all India for the Harikṣetra on the south bank of the river Suvarṇā and for the temples of Vakulasvāmin (Sun), Sūrya-svāmin (Hari) and Śrīmātā at places like Moherakapura. The localities such as Moṭaraka and Madhuvāsa and the Surekha hill belonged to the Dharmāraṇya not far from which seems to have been a holy place called Śrīkṣetra on the bank of the river Sābhramatī to the east of Sītāpura. Another locality in the neighbourhood of Sītāpura was Dharmālaya on the river

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[1] *IHQ*, March 1927, pp. 129 ff. : *Stud. Ind. Ant.*, 1958, pp. 150 ff.

[2] See Chs. 31-38.

Kāśyapī.[1]

Hearing of the exceptional sanctity of the Dharmāraṇya from Vasiṣṭha, the Ikṣvāku hero Rāma once visited Moherakapura on pilgrimage. A large number of Traividya or Trayīvidya Brāhmaṇas who had been installed in the Dharmāraṇya by Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva at the beginning of creation but had fled away from the country for fear of a demon named Lohāsura, was reinstated to their respective villages by Rāma according to the custom called *jīrṇ-oddhāra*, 'renewing the old', i.e. reconfirmation of a charter.[2] A number of the Brāhmaṇas were settled at and in the vicinity of Moherakapura where Rāma celebrated a sacrifice with the help of 18 *Mehi-vāḍavas* (Mehi Brāhmaṇas). He founded the town of Sītāpura and dedicated it together with 50 other villages to 18000 Brāhmaṇas of various *gotras*. No less than 36000 Vaiśyas as well as Śūdras four times that number were also settled in the land for serving the Brāhmaṇas. A Brāhmaṇa receiving a village necessarily became its lord.

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[1] N. L. Dey identifies Moherakapura with modern Moharpur, 14 miles to the north of Vindhyachal in the Mirzapur District and points to a view that Dharmāraṇya also included the Districts of Balia and Gazipur (*Geog. Dict.*, s. v. *Dharmāraṇya*, *Maharakapura* and *Moharpur* at pp. 56-57, 131 and 247). But he himself identifies the Kāśyapī-gaṅgā with the river Sābarmatī in Gujarat on the authority of the *Padma Purāṇa* (*op. cit.*, p. 96) and Sābhramatī or Sābarmatī is itself mentioned in our text. Moherakapura is undoubtedly identical with Moḍherā in Gujarat, which is the home of the Moḍh Brāhmaṇas and Baniās. The reference in our story is to the Moḍh Brāhmaṇas who are believed to have migrated from Upper India. For these Brāhmaṇas, see below and *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. IX, Part i, pp. 2-3, 11-12 ; also p. 72 ; Vol. VII, pp. 608-09. For the Moḍh Brāhmaṇas elsewhere in Gujarat, see *ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 45 ; Vol. VIII, p. 146 ; Vol. XVIII, Part i, p. 163 ; etc. For the Moḍh Baniās, see *ibid.*, Vol IX, Part i, p. 72; Vol. V, p. 50 ; Vol. VIII, p. 148 ; Vol. XIII, p. 112. For some rulers of the Moḍh clan, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 61 ff.

[2] The imprecatory verses quoted in the Purāṇa (*op. cit.*, Ch. 34. 23-41) from the fictitious charter of Rāma are interesting to the students of the copper-plate grants of medieval India. Cf. *Āsphoṭayanti pitaro valgayanti pitāmahāḥ | bhūmido='smat-kule jātaḥ so='smān=santāraiṣyati || Bahubhir=vasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ pṛthivī tv=iyam | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || Ṣaṣṭi-varṣa-sahasrāṇi svarge vasati bhūmidaḥ | ācchettā c=ānumantā ca tāny=eva narakaṁ vrajet || ......Bhūmer=aṅgula-hartā hi sa kathaṁ pāpam=ācaret | bhūmer=aṅgula-dātā ca sa kathaṁ puṇyam=ācaret || Aśvamedha-sahasrāṇāṃ rājasūya-śatasya ca | kanyā-śata-pradānasya phalaṁ prāpnoti bhūmidaḥ || ......Bhūmer=aṅgulam=ekaṁ tu ye haranti khalā narāḥ | Vindhy-āṭaviṣv=atoyāsu śuṣka-koṭara-vāsinaḥ | kṛṣṇa-sarpāḥ*

At the end of Dvāpara and about the beginning of the Kali age, there was a king named Āma who ruled at Kānyakubja. He was not only reported to be a good ruler, but was a *Sārvabhauma* (emperor or universal ruler).[1] Owing to the evil influence of the Kali age, the people of Āma's kingdom renounced their Vaiṣṇava faith and became followers of the Bauddha-dharma (sic : Jaina-dharma) at the instigation of monks known as the *Kṣapaṇa*. The king had, by the queen Māmā, a daughter named Ratnagaṅgā who, when she was 16 years of age and was still unmarried, came under the influence of the *Jīvika* (*Ājīvika* ?) named Indra-sūri. This monk had come to the Kānyakubja-deśa from elsewhere and captivated

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prajāyante datta-dāy-āpahārakāḥ ‖ *Taṭākānāṁ sahasreṇa Aśvamedha-śatena vā* | *gavāṁ koṭi-pradānena bhūmi-hartā viśudhyati* ‖ *Yān=īha dattāni punar=dhanāni dānāni dharm-ārtha-yaśaskarāṇi* | *audāryato ripu-niveditāni ko nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadīta* ‖ ....*Ek=aiva bhaginī loke sarveṣām=api bhūbhujām* | *na bhojyā na kara-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasundharā* ‖ *Datvā bhūmiṁ bhāvinaḥ pārthiveśān=bhūyo bhūyo yācate Rāmacandraḥ* | *sāmānyo='yaṁ dharmasetur=nṛpāṇāṁ sve sve kāle pālanīyo bhavadbhiḥ* ‖ *Asmin=vaṁśe kṣitau ko='pi rājā yadi bhaviṣyati* | *tasy=āhaṁ kara-lagno='smi mad-dattaṁ yadi pālyate* ‖ There is no doubt that the above verses of the Purāṇa were imitated from the imprecatory section of some early copper-plate charters; but it seems probable that, in their turn, they also influenced the elaborate imprecation contained in the grants of some medieval dynasties (cf., e.g., the charters of the Somavaṃśīs of Orissa).

[1] *Op. cit.*, Ch. 36, vv. 12-13, 34.

the princess by the *śābari mantravidyā* and *śūli-karma*. Ratnagaṅgā soon became an ardent follower of the Jaina-dharma at the instruction of the *Kṣapaṇas*. King Āma then gave his daughter in marriage to Kumārapāla (called Kumbhīpāla in one case) who was the lord of Brahmāvarta.[1] On the occasion of the marriage, the king made a present of the town of Moharakapura to his son-in-law who then came to the Dharmāraṇya where he made his capital and established images of the founders of Jainism. People of the Dharmāraṇya belonging to the different *varṇas* became followers of the Jaina-dharma, and all regard for the Brāhmaṇas and their *śāntika* and *pauṣṭika* rites vanished from the land. The Traividya Brāhmaṇas were deprived of their villages that had been allotted to them by Rāma, and, in utter distress, they resolved to make a complaint against Kumārapāla's conduct to king Āma who was himself residing at Kānyakubja surrounded by *pāṣaṇḍas*. The *Moḍhavāḍavas* (Moḍha Brāhmaṇas)[2] reached Kānyakubja in a few days and were taking rest on the bank of the Ganges. They were brought by the *cāras* next morning to king Āma who asked them their business, but did not honour them by saluting them or by rising from his seat. The Brāhmaṇas said, "O king, we have come from the Dharmāraṇya. Your son-in-law who is a follower of Jainism and is guided by Indrasūri has confiscated our lands which were granted to us first by Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva and afterwards by Rāma." The king asked the Brāhmaṇas to go back to Kumārapāla with his order that the Brāhmaṇas should be provided with shelter. But, learning from the Brāhmaṇas all about his father-in-law's order, Kumārapāla said, "I cannot recognise Rāma's charter and give shelter to Brāhmaṇas who kill animals at sacrifices. I have no regard for those who are guilty of *hiṁsā* (cruelty to animals)." The Brāhmaṇas pointed out that *hiṁsā* sanctioned by the Vedas was no *hiṁsā* at all. They further said, " Rāma, through the agency of Hanumat, granted to us 144 villages and 13 and 56 hamlets on other occasions after having performed the *māhādāna* ceremonies on the banks of the Gaṅgā and the Kāśyapī. He also granted us the service of 36000 Gobhujas and 125000 merchants known as Māṇḍalīkas." Then Kumārapāla said, "If you can show me an *abhijñāna* from Hanumat, I shall see that the people once again become followers of the Vedic religion ; but, in case you fail to do so, all of you shall have to accept the Jaina faith."

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[1] According to Manu, II. 17 (cf. *Meghadūta*, 48), the Brahmāvarta country lay between the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī in the Eastern Panjab.

[2] *Op. cit.*, Ch. 36, v. 49.

Then the Brāhmaṇas, who belonged to 64 different *gotras* resolved to select representatives of all the *gotras* to go to meet Hanumat at Setubandha Rāmeśvara. It was argued that a Brāhmaṇa selected for going to Setubandha would be an outcast if he would refuse to go there. In the meantime, Kumārapāla boasted that he would compel the Brāhmaṇas to take to cultivation and begging as means of livelihood. Enraged at this, 3000 Brāhmaṇas put their signatures to a document signifying their determination to visit Setubandha. Kumārapāla then ordered the Gobhuja merchants to stop the Brāhmaṇas; but they refused to do so, as they were not followers of Jainism. The Aḍālaya Śūdras, some of whom had accepted Jainism, were next ordered to stop the Brāhmaṇas. The Aḍālajas requested the Brāhmanas to be wise and to act according to the will of the prince. As a result of these overtures, 15000 Brāhmaṇas gave up their intention of going to Setubandha. They received some lands from Kumārapāla and became famous under the name of Caturvidha or Cāturvidya. But 3000 Traividya or Trayīvidya Brāhmaṇas set out for Setubandha without caring for the prince's favour.

The Brāhmaṇas underwent much hardship in course of the travel and at length met Hanumat who was in the guise of an old Brāhmaṇa. They told him their story. "We received," said they, "our lands originally from Brahman, Viṣṇu and S´iva. Rāma next confirmed the grants by a charter through the agency of Hanumat. We were then 444 in number and had 36000 merchants for serving us. Those S´ūdra merchants have now grown to be 125000 in number and are divided in three classes, viz. Gobhuja, Aḍālaja and Māṇḍalīya. At present there is a king named Āma who does not care for Rāma's charter. His son-in-law, the wicked Kumārapāla, who is guided by the *bauddha-dharmī* (sic) Jaina Indrasūri, has confiscated our lands. Some of the merchants have become followers of Jainism and are disregarding Rāma and Hanumat. Kumārapāla has declined to give us back our lands unless we are able to show him a *pratyaya* from Hanumat." When the Brāhmaṇas came to know that the old man before them was no other than Hanumat himself, they prayed to him to kill the sinful king Āma and the wicked Kumārapāla. Hanumat then took out a few hairs from his left and right arms and made out of them two balls which were handed over to the Brāhmaṇas. They were advised to go to Kumārapāla and demand their lands. If the prince would not comply with the demand, they were further instructed to throw on the ground the ball made of the hairs from the left arm of Hanumat. That, the Brāhmaṇas were assured, would cause a terrible fire which would only be extinguished when the other ball would be thrown into it.

The Traividyas went back to the Kānyakubja country (sic) with the two balls as Hanumat's *abhijñāna*. When they reached Kumārapāla's palace, they were received by the *Rājaputra* with a smile and were greeted with a sarcastic remark by the prince himself. As expected, the demand of the Brāhmaṇas was rejected by Kumārapāla who refused to grant them any *vṛtti* (rent free land) or *grāma* or even a *varāṭikā* (cowrie-shell). The Brāhmaṇas then created a great fire by throwing on the ground one of the balls and suddenly the whole palace was ablaze. Utterly helpless, Kumārapāla was compelled to submit to the

Brāhmaṇas' demands. He not only became a devotee of Rāma, but made Vaiṣṇavism the religion of the state and banished all heretics. There was no longer any person opposed to the Vedic religion. The Brāhmaṇas received their lands back and the Aḍhavija section of the Gobhuja merchants was employed at their service. When the prince was preparing a charter in favour of the Traividyas on the bank of the Ganges, the Cāturvidyas offered a dispute and claimed a share of the lands. Although the Cāturvidyas were defeated at a *tulā-dāna* (sic: *tulā-divya*),[1] they received from Kumārapāla a place of residence called Sukhavāsa. But they were forbidden any matrimonial relation with the Traividyas.

It will be seen that the above story, though rather carelessly written, is not without interest to a student of the social history of the Trivedi- and Caturvedi-Brāhmaṇas of U.P. Much more interesting however is the reference to Āma, the Jain king of Kanauj, and to his son-in-law and feudatory the Jain Kumārapāla who was originally a prince of the Eastern Panjab but later became the ruler of Moharpur. King Āma, though he is assigned to the beginning of the Kali age, is apparently no other than the son of Yaśovarman (c. 728-53 A.D.), king of Kanauj, who was a contemporary of king Lalitāditya of Kashmir (c. 730-66 A.D.). Yaśovarman's embassy reached the court of the Chinese emperor Hiuen-tsung (713-55 A.D.) in the year 731 A.D. and, according to Jain writers, he was ruling in the year 753 A.D.[2] According to Rājaśekhara's *Prabandhakosa*, a Jain monk named Bappabhaṭṭi, who was initiated in 750 A.D., converted to Jainism Āmarāja, son of king Yaśovarman of Kanauj. Āma was born of queen Yaśodevī during her temporary exile due to the machinations of a co-wife.

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[1] For the *tulā-divya*, see Sircar *The Successors, of the Sātavāhanas*, pp 360-61.

[2] For the details, see Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 194 ff.

Bappabhaṭṭi is said to have met Āma soon after his initiation when the latter was living as a voluntary exile in Gujarat, having been displeased with the treatment he received from his father.[1] He was made a *Sūri* in 754 A.D. at the request of Āma who had then ascended the throne after his father's death. Āmarāja thus ascended the throne about 753 A.D. and must have ceased to be a king of Kanauj long before 783 A.D. when, according to the Jain *Harivaṁśa* (cf. the Pāla inscriptions), a king named Indrāyudha was ruling at Kanauj. According to the *Prabhāvakacarita*, Āma was succeeded by the immoral Dunduka who was murdered by his son Bhoja. Indrāyudha on the other hand seems to have been preceded at least by one king named Vajrāyudha who is mentioned in Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī* as the king of Pañcāla with his capital at Kanauj.[2]

It is interesting to note that while the *Prabhāvakacarita* and the *Skanda Purāṇa* represent Āma as a king of Kanauj, the *Bappabhaṭṭicarita* and the *Prabandhakosa* mention him as holding his court at Gopagiri or Gwalior. He therefore seems either to have transferred his capital from Kanauj to Gwalior or to have been ousted from the Kanauj region by Vajrāyudha. He is said to have been a devout Jain who visited such Jain holy places as Stambhatīrtha (Cambay), Vimalagiri (Palitana), Raivatādri (Girnar) and Prabhāsa (Patan)—all in the present State of Gujarat. He is represented by Jain authors[3] as having constant hostility with Dharma who was a king of Gauḍa and had his capital at Lakṣmaṇāvatī which was a city on the suburbs of Gauḍa (modern Gaur in the Malda District) founded probably by Lakṣmaṇasena (c. 1179-1206 A.D.). Although the name of Āma's enemy reminds one of Dharmapāla (c. 769-815 A.D.) whose date was not far removed from that of his, the tradition may, in a confused way, actually refer to a struggle with an earlier Gauḍa king related to the Gauḍa ruler of both Gauḍa and Magadha who, according to the *Gauḍavaha*, was killed by Āma's father Yaśovarman or to one like Bhaṭa mentioned as a ruler of Gauda (or a Gauḍa ruler) in the Chastu inscription of Bālāditya of the Guhila dynasty.[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 211-12.

[2] Cf. Bhandarkar, *Collected Works*, II, pp. 80 f. 432 ; Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 211 f. It is not impossible that those kings with names ending with the word *āyudha* were related to Kamalāyudha referred to in some works as a poet and mentioned in Vākpatirāja's *Gauḍavaha* as one resorting to whose feet Vākpati derived his importance. This Kamalāyudha may have been a chief under Yaśovarman and may have been appointed governor of Kanauj by Āma when the latter transferred his capital to Gwalior. Either Kamalāyudha or his successor Vajrāyudha may have assumed independence.

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[1] See Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No.870.

CHAPTER IX

KĀYASTHA AND KĀRTĀNTIKA

I

Risley observed in 1901 that 'allover India at the present moment tribes are gradually and insensibly being transformed into castes.'[1] He further referred to the functional or occupational type of castes in which changes of occupation, 'especially among the lower castes, tend to bring about formation of separate castes'[2] and also to the tribal type in which a tribe like the Bhūmij, Koch or Bunā has 'insensibly been converted into a caste preserving its original name and many of its characteristic customs, but modifying its animistic practices more and more in the direction of orthdox Hinduism and ordering its manner of life in accordance with the same model'.[3]

What has been noticed in regard to the formation of tribal and functional castes in modern times is also true with reference to the ancient period of Indian history. Ancient works on law such as the *Manusmṛti* made an, attempt to accommodate in the theoretical and traditional frame of the *Catur-varṇa* all tribes and groups known to them whether they were Aryan or non-Aryan, civilized or uncivilized, indigenous or foreign. Reference in this connection may be made to such tribes as Andhra (the modern Telugu- speaking people), Śaka (Scythians) and Yavana (Greeks), and to such professional groups as the Sairindhra (huntsmen) and Antyāvasāyin (destroyers of dead bodies).[1] It is, however, very probable that the more important of the so-called occupational castes also developed essentially out of tribes or tribe groups.

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[1] *The People of India*, ed. Crooke, p. 72.

[2] *Ibid*.. p. 77.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 75.

Whatever that may be, it is quite evident that the ancient writers on law characterised particular tribes or classes as degraded Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya, or as originated from an admixture of two or more of the four traditional social grades called *varṇa*. This was usually done with due regard to the primary occupation, position in the contemporary Indo-Aryan society and the degree of Aryanisation of particular tribes. Of course the whole scheme was an arbitrary one, and its theoretical character is illustrated, among other evidences, by the fact that there was no unanimity among ancient writers on many of the cases. As for instance, the Śakas and Yavanas are regarded by the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* (on Pāṇini, II. 4. 10) as pure S´udra, by Manu (X. 44) as degraded Kṣatriya, and by the *Gautama Dharmasūtra* (IV. 21)as an admixture of Kṣatriya and Śūdra.

In ancient India, there was a tribe called Karaṇa. According to the *Manusmṛti* (X. 44), the Jhalla, Malla, Licchavi, Karaṇa and Draviḍa were born of the *vrātya* (degraded) Kṣatriya. The Khasa and Draviḍa of this list are elsewhere mentioned in the same work (X. 22) as *Kṣatriya-jāti* (tribes or castes belonging to the *varṇa* called Kṣatriya), degraded to the status of the Vṛṣala (S´ūdra) owing to the non-observance of prescribed duties and the neglect of Brāhmaṇas. According to the *Amarakoṣa* (S´ūdra-varga, X. 1-2) and the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (I. 92) and other works on law, the Karaṇa was born of a union between the Vaiśya male and S´ūdra female. The *Uśanaḥsaṁhitā* speaks of *rāja-sevā* and *durgāntaḥpura-rakṣā* as

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4 See Manu, X. 38, 44 and 48.

5 *Ibid.*, vv. 32 and 39. The Sairindhra may also have been a tribe orginally.

the prescribed occupation of the Karaṇa. According to Kṣīrasvāmin (on Amara, S'ūdra-varga, 1-2), Karaṇa was also an officer like Kāyastha and Adhyakṣa, while the *S'ahyādrikhaṇḍa* says that he is the same as Cāraṇa or Vaitālika who sing the praise of kings and Brāhmaṇas and study the science of erotics.[1]

The medieval lexicons identify the Karaṇa with the Kāyastha whose occupation is said to have been the writing of documents, etc., and *Karaṇa, Kāyastha, Pañjikāraka, Kūṭakṛt*, etc., are treated as synonymous words. In a large number of medieval copper-plate charters, the writer of the document is designated *Kāyastha* or *Karaṇika*. The word *Karaṇika* may have been derived from *Karaṇa* in the sense of 'a person adopting the profession of the Karaṇa' (i. e. Kāyastha or document-writer). The words *Kāyastha* and *Karaṇika* are thus used synonymously in the sense of a writer of documents. In some records, the *Kāyastha* or *Karaṇika* is styled *Thakkura* which may point to the high position of the scribe.[2] There is one record which refers to the scribe as *Karaṇika-Brāhmaṇa*.[3] Some charters, discovered in the Chamba State (Panjab) and belonging to the eleventh century A. D., speak of the scribe as Karaṇa-Kāyastha.[4]

The use of *Karaṇa* and *Kāyastha* as synonymous words in medieval lexicons probably points to the fact that the Karaṇas in some parts of India mostly adopted the profession of scribes, while the Kāyasthas were originally a professional class of scribes, the group being later crystallised into a caste. But this crystallisation seems to have been intimately associated with the relation of the Kāyastha or scribe with such tribal groups as the Karaṇa. Elsewhere we have made a similar suggestion that the crystallisation of the professional group of physicians into the Vaidya caste of Bengal was probably not unconnected with the entry into Bengal of the Ambaṣṭhas (an old tribe of barber-physicians) of South India among the Karṇāṭas and Draviḍas employed by the Pālas and also in the train of the Senas who hailed from Karṇāṭa.[1]

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[1] Kane, *Hist. Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, pp. 74-75. For the mention of the Karaṇas as the leaders of the society in place of the Brāhmaṇas, in Orissan inscriptions of the early medieval period, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 175, text line 15.

[2] Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 207, 214, 222, 271.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 350.

[4] *Ibid.*, Nos. 1828-29.

The above discussion will show that the Kāyastha was usually regarded as [illegible] professional scribe. But the writing of documents was not the only business of the Kāyastha. There is no evidence of the use or popularity of the word prior to the age of the Imperial Guptas The officer styled Kāyastha is mentioned for the first time in the epigraphic and literary records of the Gupta period. The *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (I. 335) which appears to have been compiled in Mithila about the fourth or fifth century A. D., enjoins the king to protect his subjects from the oppression especially of the Kāyasthas:

Cāṭa-taskara-durvṛtta-mahāsāhasik-ādibhiḥ ।
pīḍyamānāḥ prajā rakṣet Kāyasthaiś=ca viśeṣataḥ ॥

The same verse has been quoted in the *S´abadkalpadruma-pariśiṣṭa* from the *Vahmi-Purāṇa* in a slightly different form:

Cāṭa-carāṇa-caurebhyo vadha-bandha-bhayādibhiḥ ।
pīḍyamānāḥ prajā rakṣet Kāyasthebhyo viśeṣataḥ ॥

If, however, the Kāyastha was a mere writer of documents, it is strange that he had so great an opportunity of oppressing the common people. According to the *Mitākṣarā*, Vijñāneśvara's commentary on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, the Kāyastha was not only a scribe but also an accountant, and he was a formidable oppressor of the people because of his influence on the king and of his extremely fraudulent nature: *Kāyastho gaṇako lakhakaś=ca taiḥ pīḍyamānā viśeṣato rakṣet teṣām rāja-vallabhatay=ātimāyāvitvāc=ca durnivāratvāt.*

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[1] See above, pp. 113 ff.

According to the *Mahābhārata* (II. 5. 72), the function of a *gaṇaka lekhaka* or accountant-scribe was to calculate every morning the income and expenditure of his royal master:

Kvacic=c=āya-vyāye yuktaḥ sarve gaṇaka-lekhakāḥ |
anutiṣṭhanti pūrv-āhne nityam=āya-vyayaṁ tava ||

With reference to the smaller land-lords, etc., the Kāyastha was therefore the Dīwān or at least Gumastha of later days;[1] but, in regard to bigger chiefs and kings, he was an officer in the records, accounts and revenue departments. Thus the Kāyastha had great scope for the oppression of the common folk. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* abounds in instances of the unscrupulous oppression of the Kāyasthas and points to the importance of their position in the king's service.[2]

A Kāyastha may have served as a scribe or an accountant or a collector of revenue. But, even as a *lekhaka* or scribe, he was not merely a write of documents, as he had certainly to perform often the duties of the secretary or private secretary of the present day. There were also Kāyasthas in the service of the king's officials such as a minister, a magistrate and a judge. In the Court, his business was something like that of the Sheristadar and Peshkar of later days. A number of documents of the Gupta age, discovered in North Bengal, show that often the governors of provinces or districts were assisted in the administration by a Pañcāyat board consisting of the *Nagara-śreṣṭhin*, *Sārthavāha*, *Prathama-Kulika* and *Prathama-Kāyastha*.[4] It seems that the bankers, merchants, artisans and scribes had to be represented in the administrative board by members of their respective classes just as the *S´reṣṭhin* and *Kāyastha* had to assist the judge in the discharge of his duties in the court. In some of the Bengal records, the *S´reṣṭhin* is mentioned as the chief of the administrative board, while others speak of the *Jyeṣṭha-Kāyastha* (the same as the *Prathama-Kāyastha*) as its chief.[1] It will be seen that the Kāyastha served the kings, feudatory chiefs, petty landlords, rulers of provinces or districts, judges, etc., in various capacities. The nature of this occupation seems to settle clearly the derivation and meaning of the word *Kāyastha*.[2]

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[1] See Wilson's Glossary, s. v. *Dīwān* and *Gumashta*.

[2] Cf. IV, 621 and 629; VII. 1226; VIII. 131; etc.

[3] Cf. Stein, trans., Vol. II, p. 519 ; Wilson, *op, cit.*, s.v. *Kārkun*.

[4] See *Select Inscritpions*, pp. 283 ff. ; 324 ff. ; 328 ff. The position of the Kāyastha in the board was the same as that of the Pāṭwārī in the similar board called Chauthia (ancient *Caturjātaka*) of Western India. See *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, Vol. VI, pp. 81 ff. For Pāṭwārī, see also Wilson's Glossary, s. v.

The word *kāya* means 'the body or person' and *kāyastha* 'that stays or dwells in the body (e. g. the Supreme Spirit)'. An official, who usually sat beside his master in discharging his duties and was often the chief intermediary between his master and the latter's clients or subjects, may have been naturally called *Kāyastha* in the sense of *Kāyastha=iva*, 'as if staying in the person of his master,' by reason of his intimacy with or influence on the master, of his position often next to that of his master, and of his seat beside that of his master at least when the latter was a petty landlord or the like.[3] It is interesting to note in this connection that the *Ācāranirṇaya Tantra* quoted in the *S´abdakalpadruma-pariśiṣṭa* says that the Kāyastha was so called because of his constant stay near the person of the Brāhmaṇa for serving the latter :

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 355, text line 7; p. 357, text line 6.

[2] For a study of the characteristics of the Kāyastha in literature, see P.V. Kane in *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, pp. 740 ff., and V. Raghavan, *ibid*., Vol VI, pp. 160 ff. Raghavan came to the following conclusion: "Kāyastha thus meant any government official or employee in general, and one in charge of revenues and accounts in particular" (*op. cit*., p. 161). It is however difficult to accept the view that the Kāyastha was, in general, a government official or employee.

[3]. Cf. the word *antevāsin*, 'dwelling near one', used to indicate the *Brahmacārin* who lived in his teacher's house (*Vedic Index*, s.v.).

Brahma-pād-āṁśato janma c=ātaḥ Kāyastha-nāma-bhṛt ।
ka-kāraṁ Brāhmaṇaṁ vidyād=ā-kāraṁ nitya-samjñakam ॥
āyaṁ tu nikaṭaṁ jñeyaṁ tatra kāye hi tiṣṭhati ।
Kāyastho='taḥ samākhyāto mas-īśaṁ proktavāṁś=ca yam. ॥

The meaning of the word *Kāyastha* proposed in this case is not quite dissimilar to the one offered by us; but the derivation *Ka+ā+āya+stha* is certainly fanciful and farfetched, and the Brāhmaṇa association is imaginary and without any historical support.[1]

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[1] There are other fanciful interpretations of the word *Kāyastha.* The Vaṅgadeśīya Kāyasthasabhā suggests that the word is derived from Old Persian *Khshāyathiya* (ruler or king), found in the Achaemenid inscriptions. But the theory has no appeal to any student of philology or history. Long before the popularisation of the word *Kāyastha* in the age of the Guptas, the words *Shāh* and *Shāhi*, later froms of *Khshāyathiya*, were introduced and popularised in India by the Scythians and Kuṣāṇas.

II

There are many words in Sanskrit to indicate an astrologer who was also expected to be an astronomer, e g., *Kārtāntika*, *Naimittika*, *Mauhūrtika*, *Jyotiṣika*, *Daivajña*, etc.

With innumerable copies of printed annual almanacs, called *Pañji*, *Pañjikā* or *Pañcāṅga*, of various types in each one of the numerous regional languages, available to the literate people in all parts of India, it is impossible, in these days of advanced literacy in the country, to realise the great importance of the astrologer in Indian social life before the nineteenth century.[1] In Chapter VIII of his *Bengal Peasant*

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[1] The introduction of printed almanacs is not very old in Eastern India. B N. Banerji's *Saṃvādapatre Sekāler Kathā*, Vol. II (1830-40), second ed , pp. 736-43, gives an interesting account of the growth of the printing press in Bengal. Bengali letters were for the first time used in printing in N. B. Halhead's *A Grammar of the Bengali Language* published from Andrew's printing press at Hooghly in 1778. The Bengali types for this work were prepared by an officer of the East India Company, named Charles Wilkins. The first Bengali who learnt the art of fabricating the types of Bengali and other eastern alphabets was an assistant of Wilkins, who was a Smith (Karmakāra) of Triveṇī (near Calcutta), named Pañcānana Misrtī. Pañcānana is known to have become the most important figure in the printing activities in Bengal after Wilkins' departure from India in 1786. About the beginning of 1800, Pañcānana was employed by the Baptist missionaries of Śrīrāmpur (near Hooghly) and helped his masters in establishing a foundry for the fabrication of letters of the Bengali, Oriya, Nāgarī and other alphabets. He taught the art to his son-in-law Manohara Mistrī, another Karmakāra of Triveṇī, who continued working under the missionaries after Pañcānana's death in 1803-04. This Manohara is said to have been responsible for fabricating the letters of the alphab .

Life, published in 1874, L. B. Day (a Bengali Christian educationist) gives an admirable account of the village astrologer of Bengal in the first half of the nineteenth century. In this description, we find how the professional astrologer was intimately associated with Bengali social life as late as the last century, although his influence has possibly not died out totally even at the present time. In the first place, the village astrologer 'cast the nativities of male children—for girls have no horoscopes properly so called, the dates of their birth and the positions of heavenly bodies being briefly registered in a small slip of paper.'[1] Secondly, he 'pointed out auspicious and inauspicious days by calcula-

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In the Bengali year 1245 (1837-38 A.D.), Manohara, assisted by his son and disciple, Kṛṣṇacandra, founded a printing press at Śrīrāmpur and began to publish, among other books, annual almanacs in Bengali with many illustrations. Manohara died in B.S. 1253 (1845-46 A.D.) and Kṛṣṇacandra in 1850. About this time however Bengali almanacs of different types were being annually published from various other presses in Calcutta and its neighbourhood. The earliest reference to a printed almanac in Banerji's work (*ibid.*, Vol. I, second ed., p. 70) speaks of the *Navadvīpa-sammata-Pañjikā* for B.S. 1227 (1820-21 A.D.), printed at Viśvanātha Deva's printing press at Sabhābāzār, on the authority of the Bengali weekly *Samācāradarpaṇa* (the first issue of which was published on May 27, 1818). In the first half of the nineteenth century, the almanacs prepared by the Pandits of Navadvīpa, Maulā, Bāraikhāli, Vāklā, Khānāpur, Bajrāpur, Bāli, Gaṇapur, Digsui, Vāksā, Kulṭi, Medinīpur, Viṣṇupur and Vagiri were very popular. See *ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 67; Vol. II, p. 552. Even, as at the present time, there was often difference of opinion amongst the different schools of Pandits in regard to the time when particular festivals should have to be performed. Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 552-53. For the printing activity in other purts of the country, see A. K. Priyolkar, *The Printing Press in India*, Bombay, 1958.

[1] In Bengal, this is called *Ṭhikujī* which is a summary version of the *Koṣṭhī* or horoscope.

ting the positions of the heavenly bodies, which trade brought him no little gain, as orthodox Hindus never engage in any important work like marriage or even undertaking a journey to a distant place without first ascertaining from the astrologer the most auspicious day for its performance.' Thirdly, he was "at the beginning of a new year, in the habit of 'reading the new almanac', as it is called, in the house of every respectable orthodox Hindu, which 'reading' consisted in a prophetic review or rather prevision of the leading astronomical phenomena and astrological events of the coming year together with the recitation of a few legends connected with the subject and every person who heard the new almanac read or recited was bound to give some present, however little, to the Ācārya". Fourthly, he "pursued the profession of a Gaṇatkāra or calculator, that is to say, a diviner. ....Whenever the cow of a peasant strayed and could not be found, whenever an ornament of gold or silver—a pair of bangles or earrings for example—was filched from its rightful owner, whenever a plate of Monghyr clay-slate or brass was missing—in all such cases, Dhūmaketu (nickname of the village astrologer in question) was able, by skilfully handling a bit of chalk and by tracing hieroglyphical characters on the mud floor of his hut, to tell with infallible certainty the present *locus* of the strayed or missing articles. His hut was frequented by the rich and the poor. ...Though his predictions often turned out false, the people were not shaken in their belief in his supernatural skill for sometimes his divination proved correct, and such is human conduct that, in divination, the failures are forgotten and the successes carefully remembered."

Padfield, quoted in Dubois' *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, third ed., p. 136, gives a similar description of the Pañcāṅga Brāhmaṇa of South India. It is said that the Pañcāṅga Brāhmaṇa "by studying the almanac, is able to state propitious and unpropitious times. He gets his livelihood by going certain rounds day by day from house to house declaring the condition of things as per the almanac and receiving in return a dole consisting usually of grain. He is not held in much respect by his own caste people; but he is much looked upto by other castes. He is consulted by his constituents from time to time when they wish to know the propitious period for any undertaking as starting on journey, making an important purchase, putting on new clothes or new jewels, or when about to take up a new appointment or when any other important event is contemplated."

There is epigraphic evidence to show that the office of the village astrologer was an institution often recognised by the state during Hindu rule. We may refer to two inscriptions of the age of the Vijayanagara kings in this connection.[1] A copper-plate inscription said to be of the time of Śrīraṅga II, but dated in 1631 A.D., states that Immaḍi Kempe Gauḍa who was in charge of the Yalahaṅka *nāḍu* granted the right of reading the Pañcāṅga in certain villages to one Avubala Naraṣiṁhabhaṭṭa and provided that the fees attached to the office of reading the almanac in those villages were to be enjoyed by him and his descendants. According to an inscription of 1556 A.D., some individuals complained to the agent of Rāmadeva-mahārāya that the offices of *Senabova* and *Jyotiṣa*, which they had been enjoying since the days of their ancestors, had been brought under the *Sist* and requested that they should be granted to them. An enquiry was then instituted and it was declared, "The former residents affirming that the offices of *Senabova*, *Jyotiṣa*, *Purohita*, etc., belonging to the

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[1] Cf. Mahalingam, *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*, pp. 218-19.

Sante-Bennūr *sīme* in the Uccaṅge *veṇṭhi* were held by you—we therefore grant them to you, as a gift of Rāma, to be enjoyed by you, your sons, grandsons and posterity in regular succession, and you may take possession of the dues and rights belonging thereto in the Sante-Bennūr *sīme*." The Brāhmaṇical family name *Joṣī* (Sanskrit *Jyotiṣin*), found in the western parts of India, seems to speak of official recognition for the families of astrologers in question. The family name *Praharāja* (Sanskrit *Prahara-rāja*) found amongst Oriya Brāhmaṇas was originally a royal title conferred on an astrologer by a king.

Dubois who worked as a missionary in South India from 1792 to 1823 gives, in his celebrated work referred to above,[1] an interesting account not only of the village astrologer but also of the astrologers at the royal courts. Thus he says, "One of the most valued privileges of the Purohitas[2] is the right of publishing the Hindu almanac. The majority of them, being too ignorant to compile it, buy copies every year from those of their brethren who are sufficiently well-versed in astronomy to be able to calculate the eclipses and variations of the moon. It must be admitted that these learned Hindus, unacquainted as they are with the analytical operations which in Europe facilitate the computation of the movements of the stars, and having only the most ancient tables wherewith to assist their calculation, require an enormous amount of patience and concentrated attention to produce results which are in any degree trustworthy. This almanac is an absolute necessity to every Purohita, since it tells him not only which are the lucky and unlucky constellations and fortunate or inauspicious days, but also which are the propitious hours in each day; for it is only at these particular moments that the ceremonies can begin at which he is called to preside. The Brāhmaṇas also draw inspiration from this book in predicting happy and unhappy events in life. Numbers of people come to consult them on points like these and it is not the common people only on whom this superstition has such a strong hold, for princes and persons of the highest rank believe in it even more firmly, if that be possible. There is no one in high position who has not one or more Purohitas living in his palace. They go every morning and with ludicrous gravity announce to the prince, to his state elephant and to his idols, each in their turn, all that is written in the almanac relating to that particular day. Should the prince wish to hunt, walk or receive visits from strangers, and the perspicacity of the Purohita discovers in his infallible book that this is an unpropitious moment, the chase, the walk or the visit is postponed. In large temples, a Purohita is specially retained to read to the idols[1] every morning the predictions for that day contained in the almanac."

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[1] See *op. cit.*, pp. 135-36.

[2] The Purohita enjoys a *mānyam* or free grant of land. He "is a Brāhmaṇa whose business it is to fix auspicious days for marriage, journeys and undertakings generally. He presides at the marriage ceremonies of the Sūdras, but not at the marriage ceremonies of Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇa who presides at the latter is called Upādhyāya. A Purohita is sometimes called a Pañcāṅgi or one who has the charge of the Pañcāṅgam or almanac, not a very dignified office" (*ibid.*, p. 135, note).

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[1] This is because the deities are often regarded as kings or emperors. Note that the medieval rulers of Orissa considered themselves as the deputies of the god Jagannātha-Puruṣottama of the Purī temple, who was

What Dubois says about the importance of the astrologer at the royal court in South India about the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century is perfectly borne out by ancient Indian literature. In *The Social and Military Positon of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India*,[2] Hopkins has very clearly demonstrated the growth of the power of the royal priest who gradually succeeded in early India in shadowing his master.[3] Kane[4] similarly shows how in later times several different officers took over some of the functions of the royal Purohita. One of these officers was called *Sāṁvatsara* (also *Sāṁvatsarika*)[5] or astrologer, often styled *Jyautiṣika*, *Daivajña*, *Mauhūrtika*, *Kārtāntika*, etc., although sometimes the designations were applied to different classes of astrologers. The *Viṣṇusmṛti*[6] requires the king to depend on the astrologer on all matters. According to the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (II. 9), a king without an astrologer mistakes his path like a blind man. The *Kāmandakīyanītisāra* (IV. 33) and *Viṣṇudharmottara* (II. 4. 5-16) also prescribe reliance on the astrologer. The *Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra* (IX. 4) is not in favour of too much reliance on astrology ; but the same work (V. 3) mentions the *Kārtāntika* (foreteller), *Naimittika*

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represented as the real lord of their dominions. Note also that extensive rent-free estates were often allotted to the deities so that they could be logically viewed as rulers.

[2] *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, Vol. XIII, 1888, pp. 151 ff.

[3] Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 161.

[4] *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, p. 126.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 154, note 193.

[6] III. 75 : *rājā ca sarva-kāryeṣu sāṁvatsar-ādhīnaḥ syāt.*

(reader of omens)[1] and *Mauhūrtika* (astrologer) in the list of royal officers of the sixth class earning an annual salary of 1000 silver coins. The *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (I. 307) holds that the rise and fall of kings depend on the influence of planets.

The Sarkho plates of 1128 A. D. give some interesting information regarding the astrologers at the court of the Kalacuri king Ratnadeva II. According to the record, these astrologers were using wrong methods of astronomical calculation, as a result of which their predictions relating to eclipses hardly came true. A good astronomer named Padmanābha discovered the mistakes in their methods, made the necessary *bīja-saṁskāra*, and calculated correctly the exact time of a particular lunar eclipse. Padmanābha was then rewarded by the king for his success.

That the court astrologers of ancient India often did a great disservice to their master and their country owing to some reason or other seems to be clear from the story of the Muslim occupation of Bengal as given in Minhājuddīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Naṣirī*.[3] It is said that, after Muḥammad Bakhtiyār's conquest of Bihār, 'a number of astrologers, wise men and consellors of his kingdom' represented to Rāī Lakhmanīā (i. e. king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal) that it was written 'in our books of the ancient Brāhmaṇas' that their country would fall into the hands of the Turks. They assured the king that the Turks had already subjugated Bihār 'and next year they will surely come into this country.' Accordingly they advised the king to 'be removed from the country in order that we may be safe from the molestation of the Turks.' On the Sena king hesitating to follow their advice, the astrologers gave him the description of the would-be conqueror of Bengal, which, on verification, was found to agree with the physical features of Muḥammad Bakhtiyār. When these facts were known, 'most of the Brāhmaṇas and inhabitants of that place retired into the province of Saknāt (sic— Samataṭa), the cities and towns of Bang (Vaṅga) and towards Kāmrūd (Kāmarūpa) ; but to begin to abandon his country was not agreeable to Lakhmaniā.' Now whether the conduct of Lakṣmaṇasena's astrologers was due to the bribe they might have taken from the Musalmans or to their fear cannot be definitely determined ; but there is no doubt that their prediction created panic in the western districts of the Sena kingdom and paralysed the Sena king's preparations to defend his country against the Turkish invader. Majumdar[1] rightly observes that 'the judgment of posterity must go against the generals and ministers of state (of Lakṣmaṇasena) who either betrayed their king and master or were guilty of culpable negligence in performing duties entrusted to them.' It should however be noticed that the responsibility for the loss of Nadīyā and Lakhnautī to the Musalmans was not in a small measure due to the suspicious conduct of the astrologers at Lakṣmaṇasena's court. That Lakṣmaṇasena hesitated to move according to the advice of his astrologers only shows that, unlike most of the Indian rulers in different periods of history, he was cultured and conscentious enough to overcome his superstition.

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[1] Cf. a Gāhaḍavāla grant in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 305.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 159 ff.

[3] See Raverty's translation, pp. 554-59 ; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II, p. 310 ; Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 372-73 : etc.

It is well known that most of the royal charters issued by ancient and medieval Indian rulers bear dates often with astronomical details which were no doubt supplied by the court astrologer. Various private records are also found to bear dates with similar details for which the village astrologers must have been responsible. On attempts at verification of such dates, however, it is found that in a large number of cases they are irregular. There is a tendency amongst a section of epigraphists to view the genuineness of a document bearing an irregular date with suspicion. The recent attempts to assign the beginning of the Kalacuri era variously to 249 or 250 or 251 A.D. and that of the Gaṅga era to 496 or 497 or 498 A.D. represent another phase of the same question. But it seems to be a quite wrong approach to the problem as the irregularity in the dates may be due to factors absolutely unconnected with the question of the genuineness of the document and of the epoch of an era. More than half of the cases of irregularity were undoubtedly due to mistakes in the calculation of the astrologers who were often certainly not quite competent astronomers and to the erroneous method followed in the calculation. We know that the almanacs now published in different parts of India or even in the same part of the country do not tally with one another owing principally to the difference in the method of calculation followed or in the approach to particular astronomical problems.[1] Varying local traditions regarding the astrological character of particular days, *tithis* or moments may have also contributed to the difference referred to. Another cause of irregularity in the date of royal documents must have been the fact that in some cases the court astrologer had occasion to fabricate an auspicious moment when really there was none. This was hardly difficult for him to do as his master, the king, and most of the latter's courtiers were blessedly ignorant of astronomy and had to depend entirely on the astrologer for the determination of an appropriate moment for a particular undertaking. Suppose a king promises one of his courtiers the grant of a rent-free village on the next occasion of a solar eclipse. Now, if there was really no solar eclipse in the near future, the court astrologer might have been bribed to declare at least a partial solar eclipse on the new moon day of the following month when actually there was none.

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[1] *Dacca University History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 245.

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[1] The difference can be easily demonstrated. It is well-known that the same solar month is called Cittirai (Caitra) in the Tamil land but Vaiśākha in Bengal. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*. Vol. I, Chap. I, Paragraph 12 gives rules for determining the commencement of the solar month according to the Tamil, Malayalam, Oriya and Bengali systems. But the learned author observes in this connection, "A difference of a whole day or of two days would ordinarily be found between days of the Tamil solar month and the corresponding Bengali days."

Of course there may be other possible reasons for an irregularity creeping into the date of a royal charter. But the two possibilities, associated with the court astrologer and discussed above, do not appear to have received the attention they deserve,

CHAPTER XI

PAÑCĀṄGULA AND SURAVADHŪ-VARAṆA

I

According to the Sanskrit lexicons, the expression *pañcāṅgula* means "measuring five fingers' breadth" and "the castor-oil plant [which has five-lobed leaves]". The expression is, however, used in a technical sense in literary and epigraphic records. This meaning is— "the palm [usually of the right hand] with outstretched fingers" or "the mark impressed by the palm with outstretched fingers with some pigment [which was usually whitish]." Such an impression is called *panja* by the Muslims.[1]

Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣacarita* (Chapter II)[2] describes a *pūrṇa-kalasa* (an auspicious jar which is a vessel full of water and is offered to the gods on festivals) as *piṣṭa-pañcāṅgula-pāṇḍura* (white or yellowish white due to *piṣṭa-pancāṅgula*). According to the commentator, *piṣṭa-pañcāṅgulam ajak-āktābhiḥ pañcabhir=aṅgulibhir=maṅgalyāya dīyate*, "*Piṣṭa- pañcāṅgula* is what is impressed with the five fingers dipped in clarified butter as an auspicious mark." The commentary on the *Harṣacarita* no doubt refers here to the interesting custom of making marks on objects used in auspicious ceremonies by means of clarified butter. But the word *piṣṭa* means "a ground substance" or "paste" which clarified butter does not appear to be. And it is

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1. Cf. Wilson's Glossary, s. v.
2. See N. S. Press ed., 1937, p. 57.

interesting that the same commentator explains the word differently in another context.

In Chapter IV of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita,*[1] we have the description of the *rājakula* (royal palace) as *piṣṭa-pañcāṅgula-maṇḍyamān-olūkhala-musala-śil-ādy-upakaraṇa,* "having the household implements like the wooden mortar and pestle, the stone [used for grinding spices on], etc., adorned with *piṣṭa-pañcāṅgula.*" In this case, the commentator explains the word *piṣṭa* as *ātarpaṇa* which means "white-washing [of the wall, floor, seat, etc.]" as also "the pigment [used for the said purpose]." The word *ātarpaṇa* is regarded as a synonym of *maṅgal-ālepana* in which *ālepana* is obviously the origin of the Bengali *ālpanā*. It is well known that *ālpanā* is not really white washing, but decorative paterns made with a whitish pigment which is rice-powder mixed with water. Bāṇa's use of the expression *piṣṭa-pañcāṅgula-pāṇḍura* as an epithet of a *pūrṇa-kalasa* seems also to suggest that the reference is not to white-washing as we understand it, but to the fact that the auspicious jar in question was adorned with too many palm impressions of a white pigment so as to look almost white. Since the word *piṣṭa* is often used in the sense of "flour", it would appear that flour was the usual pigment for making the *pañcāṅgula* marks in the U. P. region where Bāṇabhaṭṭa composed his works.

While the *Harṣacarita* and its commentary speak of two customs of making palm-impressions on objects used in auspicious rites with a white pigment (probably the watery flour-paste) and with clarified butter, a similar practice is referred to in the Mandasor inscription[1] of the Aulikara king Yaśodharman (c. 515-35 A. D.) of Western Malwa. The epigraph mentions the bull of Śūlapāṇi (Śiva) as *Kṣitidharatanayā-datta-pañcāṅgul-āṅka*, "adorned with the marks of five fingers (i. e. the palm of the right hand with the five fingers outstretched) impressed by Pārvatī." This reminds us of the custom of punching the bodies of cattle with numerous globular marks with the help of a round-mouthed object (e. g. the earthen tobacco-container used with the Indian tobacco-pipe) dipped in the watery paste of rice-powder on the occasion of the *Pauṣa-pārvaṇa* (the cake-festival held on the last day of the month of Pauṣa) as we noticed in our younger days in certain areas of Central Bengal especially in the Sadar and Goalundo Subdivisions of the Faridpur District. The author of the Mandasor inscription seems to represent Pārvatī as a village housewife or a farmer's wife, a conception not far removed from that of the medieval Bengali authors of the *Maṅgala-kāvyas*.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

There is also evidence to show that sandal paste was some times used in putting the *pañcāṅgula* marks. The *Pratimā-nāṭaka* ascribed to Bhāsa speaks of walls (*bhitti*) which were *datta-candana-pañcāṅgula* (bearing *pañcāṅgula* marks made in sandal paste).[2] The same custom seems to be alluded to in Jātaka No. 28 which has the passage *gandhena pañc-āṅguliṁ datvā*. Jātaka No. 18 speaks of a goat being marked with the *pañc-āṅgulika* before is was taken to be sacrificed.

Unfortunately no comprehensive survey of our socio-religious practices has ever been attempted, so that it is often difficult to compare the old and current forms of the same or similar customs. Some regional notices are found in works like Sudhīr Kumār Mitra's *Huglī Jelār Itihās O Baṅgasamāj*, Tārāpada Sāntrā's *Hāoḍa Jelār Lok-utsab*, etc. But a more penetrating and comprehensive survey on a wider scale is the desideratum.

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[1] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 393.

[2] *Bhāsanāṭakacakram*, ed. C. R. Devadhar, 1937, pp. 273, 275.

The Hindus, displaced from different districts of East Pakistan, have been settling in West Bengal and various other areas of India. There is little doubt that many of the regional aspects of their language and socio-religious life will be either totally lost or very considerably modified in a few generations under the influence of their new environs. It is a matter of regret that this serious problem has not yet attracted the attention of scholars it so urgently deserves.

II

Verses 11-12 of the Aphsad inscription[1] of the Later Gupta king Ādityasena, which describe the events of the reign of his great-grandfather Dāmodaragupta, run as follows :

Yo Maukhareḥ samiṣ=ūddhata-Hūṇa-sainyā
valgad-ghaṭā vighaṭayann=uru-vāraṇānām ।
sammūrcchitaḥ suravadhūr=varayan=mam=eti
tat-pāṇi-paṅkaja-sukha-spariśād=vibuddhaḥ ॥
Guṇavad-dvija-kanyānāṁ nān-ālaṅkāra-yauvanavatīnām ।
pariṇāyitavān=sa nṛpaḥ śataṁ nisṛṣṭ-āgrahārāṇām ॥

The second half of verse 11 was translated by Fleet in the following words : "he became unconscious [and expired in the fight]; [and then, waking again in heaven], and making a choice among the women of the gods, saying, '[This one or that] belongs to me,' he was revived by the pleasing touch of the water-lilies that were their hands."[2] It is therefore generally believed that the Later Gupta king Dāmodaragupta died on the battle-field while fighting with his Maukhari enemies.

Pandit K.C. Chattopadhyay, however, thinks that the inscription speaks not of Dāmodaragupta's death, but of his swoon (cf. *sammūrcchita*) and subsequent awakening, i.e. regaining consciousness (cf. *vibuddha*).[3] He complains that Fleet got his meaning by making two additions, viz. '[and expired in the fight]' and '[and then, waking again in heaven and]', for which, in the Pandit's opinion, 'there is absolutely no warrant either in the text or in its context'. It is further suggested that verse 12 speaks of what Dāmodaragupta did after the event described in the previous stanza, so that he must have been alive then. The Pandit therefore suggests that the author of the Aphsad inscription describes how Dāmodaragupta was seriously wounded in the course of fighting and fainted away, but regained consciousness ultimately. Our attention is drawn in this connection to Act III of Bhavabhūti's *Uttaracarita* describing the revival of the fainted Rāma through Sītā's touch.

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[1] J. F. Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind* , Vol. III, pp. 200 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

[3] *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, ed. B. C. Law, pp. 180 ff.

We have found it difficult to accept the Pandit's interpretation of verse 11 of the Aphsad inscription.[1] It is well-known that, according to a popular military convention of ancient India, a hero dying in action at once goes to heaven and enjoys heavenly damsels. This is vouched for by thousands of 'hero stones' (often bearing inscriptions), discovered especially in the western and southern regions of India, and by Indian literature. Out of the innumerable references in early and medieval Indian literature, attention may be drawn to the following passages respectively from the *Mahābhārata*, *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Rājataraṅgiṇī* :

I. *Āhave tu hataṁ śūraṁ na śoceta kathañcana* |
aśocyo hi hataḥ śūraḥ svarga-loke mahīyate ||
Var-Āpsarā-sahasrāṇi śūram= āyodhane hatam |
tvaramāṇāni dhāvanti mama bhartā bhaved=iti ||[2]

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[1] See *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XI, 1945, p. 70, note 5.

[2] *Mahābhārata*, XII. 98. 44-47.

(None should mourn the death of a hero, because a warrior under such circumstances goes straight to heaven. Thousands of heavenly damsels run after a hero dying on the battle field, each shouting, 'He will be my husband'.)

II. *Kaścid = dviṣad-khaḍga-hṛt-ottamāṅgaḥ*
sadyo-vimānaprabhutām = upetya |
vām-āṅga-saṁsakta-surāṅganaḥ svaṁ
nṛtyat-kabandhaṁ samare dadarśa ||[1]

(Someone, whose head was struck off by the enemy's sword, at once became a god ; he now found his own headless body dancing on the battle field, while he was himself embracing a celestial nymph with his left arm.)

Paraspareṇa kṣatayoḥ prahartor =
utkrānta-vāyvoḥ samakālam = eva |
amartya-bhāve = 'pi kayościd = āsīd =
ek-āpsaraḥ-prārthitayor = vivādaḥ ||[2]

(Any two warriors having been wounded by each other and died at the same time were still fighting even after becoming gods because of the selection of both of them by a single divine girl.)

III. *Vidadrau sa tu tad-yodhair = hataiś = ca parisaṣvaje* |
a-divyair = medinī divyair = dehais = tv = Apsarasāṁ gaṇaḥ ||[3]

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[1] *Raghuvaṁśa*, VII. 51 (cf. *Kumārasambhava*, XVI. 49).

[2] *Ibid.*, VII. 53. Cf. *Kumārasambhava*, XVI. 48 : *Anyo-'nyaṁ rathinau kaucid=gata-prāṇau divaṁ gatau* | *ekām=apsarasaṁ prāpya yuyudhāte var-āyudhau* || See also XVI. 36 : *Ākṣipy=ābhidivaṁ nītaḥ pattayaḥ karibhiḥ karaiḥ* | *divy-āṅganābhir=ādātuṁ raktābhir=drutam=īṣire* || "The enamoured heavenly damsels became eager to get [as their husbands] quickly the foot-soldiers who had been reaching heaven, having been thrown towards it by the elephants with their trunks."

[3] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VIII. 453 ; cf. also VII. 1436, 1479 ; VIII. 197, 453, 472 ; etc., etc.

(He fled, while his soldiers embraced with their mortal bodies the earth, and with their heavenly bodies a band of the celestial nymphs.)

Now the stanzas quoted above show that the heroes dying while fighting enjoyed the heavenly damsels only after death when they were in the land of the gods. This is also clear from epigraphical literature. At the battle of Koppam, the forces of Cāḷukya Someśvara I Āhavamalla concentrated their attention on the elephant on which the Coḷa king Rājādhirāja, who was himself leading his army, was riding and wounded him mortally, so that, as the Coḷa records say, Rājādhirāja 'went up into the sky and became a sojourner in the country of Indra, where he was welcomed by the women of the sky.'[3]

Under these circumstances, the *suravadhū-varaṇa* (selection of the celestial girls for enjoyment) does not appear to have been possible for Dāmodaragupta when he was still alive. For this he must have reached the abode of the heavenly damsels after his death on the battle-field. If, after describing the heroic death of Dāmodaragupta, the poet states that 'the said king' (*sa nṛpaḥ*, i.e. the hero whose death is described above) gave *agrahāras* to learned Brāhmaṇas and also spent money for their marriage (both the deeds being prescribed in the *Dharmaśāstras* as highly meritorious), the description scarcely proves that the king's death cannot be referred to in the previous stanza. Because the heroic death of Dāmodaragupta was his only achievement, the author of the inscription added a trifle to it. If, on the other hand, the king had merely fainted away on the battlefield and afterwards recovered, that was hardly an achievement worthy of being mentioned by the penegyrist.

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[3] See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Coḷas*, 2nd ed., p. 257.

Moreover, we have also description of the heroic death of other kings in a language strikingly similar to that of the Aphsad inscription. Thus verse 5 of the Yenamadala inscription[1] of the Kākatīya princess Gaṇapāmbā (Gaṇapāmbikā) describes the death of her grandfather Mādhava (Mahādeva, c. 1195-99 A. D.), who died while fighting with the Yādavas of Devagiri probably in the course of an invasion of the Yādava kingdom, in the following words :

Jāto Mādhava-bhūpatir=guṇa-giris=tasmān=mahīvallabhād=
yas=suptvā sumahāhave gajavadhū-kumbha-dvayasy=opari |
prakhyāt-Āparasa stana-dvaya-taṭe prābodhir=yodh-āgraṇīr=
loke khyāta-viśāla-nirmala-yaśā vīraśriyām=āśrayaḥ ||

"To that lord of the earth (Prola II) was born king Mādhava (Mahādeva) who was a mountain of virtues and the resort of the fortunes of heroes, and whose great and spotless fame was celebrated in the world. Having fallen asleep (*suptvā*) on the two temples of a female elephant in a great battle, this foremost among warriors awoke (*prābodhiḥ*) on the two breasts of a distinguished nymph in heaven (i.e. was killed while fighting)."

It will be seen that, while the second half of verse 5 of the Yenamadala inscription describes the death of the Kākatīya king Mādhava (Mahādeva) as awakening [in the embrace of an *Apsaras* in heaven] from a sleep, the death of Dāmodaragupta is likewise described in the Aphsad inscription as awakening [at the touch of the *Apsarases* in heaven] from a swoon. The words used to indicate this awakening of the heroes in heaven in the two epigraphs are derived from the same verbal root, viz *prābodhiḥ* (from *pra-budh*) in the Yenamadala inscription and *vibuddha* (from *vi-budh*) in the Aphsad record. A comparison of the language of the two epigraphs makes it quite clear that the Later Gupta king Dāmodaragupta died on the battle-field while fighting with his Maukhari enemies, while Kākatīya Mādhava (Mahādeva) died in an engagement with the Yādavas of Devagiri.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 97.

CHAPTER XI

ĀMRA-PIPĪLIKĀ AND AVAKTAVYA-NĀMA

I

Aṁbā-kipilika, *aṁbā-kapilika* or *aṁbā-kapīlikā* is mentioned in the list of creatures occurring in Pillar Edict V of Aśoka, whose slaughter was prohibited by the Maurya emperor.[1] Of the two words joined in the compound expression, *ambā* means 'mother' in Sanskrit and the Prakrits (including Pāli) while *kapillika* is a well-known Pāli word meaning 'an ant'. Bühler, therefore, interpreted *aṁbā-kipilikā* = *aṁbā-kapilika* = *aṁbā-kapīlikā* as 'the queen ant',[2] and most later writers have accepted Bühler's interpretation.

B.M. Barua, however, pointed out that, according to the commentary on the *Aṅguttaranikāya*,[3] the expression *aṁbaka-maddarī* or *aṁbaka-paccarī* means *khuddaka-kukkuṭiyā* (Sanskrit *kṣudraka-kukkuṭikā*), 'a small hen', and therefore *ambaka* is a synonym of *khuddakā*, 'small'.[4] He took *aṁbā* in Pillar Edict V as the same as *ambaka* = *khuddaka* and, since he believed that the list in Pillar Edict V contains only the names of birds or bird-like creatures so that there is no possibility of 'the ant' being mentioned in it, he further suggested that *aṁbā-kipilika* = *aṁbā-kapilika* = *aṁbā-kapīlikā* means 'a small bird.'[5]

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[1] *CII*, Vol. I, 1925, p. 224.

[2] See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 259.

[3] Vol. I, p. 188.

[4] *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Part II, p. 358.

[5] *Loc. cit.*

P. C. Sen[1] has recently pointed out that the list of creatures in Pillar Edict V really contains names other than those of birds. We agree with him on this point. But he accepts Barua's interpretation of *aṁbā* as 'small' and suggests that *aṁbā-kipilika* = *aṁbā-kapilika* = *aṁbā-kapīlikā* really means 'a small ant.' In support of this interpretation, Sen has offered two arguments.

In the first place, our attention has been drawn to the following stanza occurring in some recensions of the *Mahābhārata* :[2]

Anaḍvān = mṛttikā c = aiva tathā kṣudra-pipīlikāḥ ।
śleṣmātakas = tathā viprair = abhakṣyaṁ viṣam = eva ca ॥

The verse mentions *kṣudra-pipīlikā* or 'the small ant' in the list of food which a Brāhmaṇa should not take, and Sen suggests that this injunction proves the prevalence of the custom of eating such ants amongst certain sections of the people. Secondly, Sen refers to the custom of eating winged white-ants and also big red-ants (which make big nests generally with leaves at the end of small branches of the mango tree), especially the eggs and the young of the latter both raw and cooked, as still prevalent among the aboriginal population of South Bihar. He therefore suggests that these are the creatures called *aṁbā-kipilika* = *aṁbā-kapilika* = *aṁbā-kapīlikā* in Pillar Edict V of Aśoka.

It is, however, difficult to agree with these views. Firstly, the Pāli lexicons do not recognise 'small' as a meaning of the word *aṁbā* and even if *aṁbaka-maddarī* or *aṁbaka-paccarī* means *khuddaka-kukkuṭiyā*, it is not certain that *aṁbā* means 'small.' Secondly, the winged white-ants and the red-ants living generally in mango trees are both very much bigger than the ordinary small ants and can therefore hardly be called *kṣudra* or 'small'. The consumption of 'big' ants therefore is not prohibited by the *Mahābhārata*.

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[1] *Itihāsa* (Bengali), Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff.

[2] See Vaṅgavāsī edition, Śānti-parvan, Chapter XXXVI, verse 21.

The word *aṁbā* occurs in the expression *aṁbā-vaḍikyā* in Pillar Edict VII [1] and in *aṁbā-vaḍikā* in the so-called Queen's Edict on the Allahabad-Kosam Pillar,[2] both the expressions standing for Sanskrit *āmra-vāṭikā*, 'a grove of mango trees.'[1] Thus *aṁbā* stands for Sanskrit *āmra* in Aśokan vocabulary.[3] It is thus very probable that *aṁbā-kipilika = aṁbā-kapilika = aṁbā-kapīlikā* really stands for Sanskrit *āmra-pipīlikā* and means 'the mango-tree ant', i. e. the big red-ant that generally lives on mango trees. The Maurya emperor Aśoka thus wanted to stop the practice of eating the mango-tree ants, which was prevalent among certain sections of his subjects as it is even now popular with the aboriginal peoples of South Bihar.

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1. *CII*, Vol. I, p. 130, text line 23.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 158, text line 3.
3. See my note in *Itihāsa*, Vol. X, pp. 31 ff. ; cf. R. G. Basak, *Aśokan Inscriptions*, p. 104.

II

In primitive society, behaviour towards certain persons related by blood or marriage follows prescribed patterns, and such predetermined conduct largely falls into two categories, called 'avoidance' and 'privileged familiarity' by ethnologists.[1] As regards the first category, e. g., the brother and sister in some Melanesian groups never utter each other's name, and among certain tribes like the Crow Indians, the son-in-law and mother-in-law neither speak to each other nor utter each other's name, while any word forming part of the name of one is represented by the other in a round-about phrase. The rules of avoidance are supposed to apply generally to the persons of the opposite sex who are forbidden to mate by the tribal rules, whereas licensed familiarity obtains between potential mates.[2]

Such primitive characteristics are traceable in the life even of the upper classes of the society in many parts of India. A fairly widespread custom seems to be the avoidance of the name of each other by the wife and the husband.[1] Among Bengali Hindus, there is privileged familiarity between the husband and the younger brothers and sisters of the wife, between the wife and the younger brothers and sisters of the husband and between the parents, uncles and aunts of the husband with those of the wife,[2] while there is avoidance between the wife and her husband's elder brother. In the central areas of Bengal, now in East Pakistan, there is a similar tabu between the wife and her husband's maternal uncle. Not only are the Bengali husband and wife expected not to utter each other's name, the wife cannot utter the name of any of the elder relations of the husband. Even the words 'husband' and 'wife' are indicated in phrases like 'so and-so', 'so-and-so's father', 'so-and-so's mother,' 'the master of the house', 'the newly married girl' 'the Brāhmaṇa', 'the Brāhmaṇī,' 'the headman of the village', 'the headman's son', etc., etc.

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[1] See *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. E. R. A. Seligman, Vol II, 1951, pp. 369-70 (s. v. *Avoidance*).

[2] Scholars have not appreciated Freud's attempt to explain this behaviour in phsycho-analytic terms. Tylor connects it with residence. In his opinion, which also does not appear to be completely satisfactory, when the husband and wife live with the latter's relatives, there may be avoidance between the son-in-law and the mother-in-law ; on the other hand, there would be tabu between the father-in-law and the daughter-in-law if the couple reside with the husband's relations.

As regards the avoidance of names, a late work entitled *Karmalocana*[3] has the following stanza—

Ātma-nāma guror=nāma nāmāni kṛpaṇasya ca ।
prāṇ-ānte='pi na vaktavyaṁ jyeṣṭhaputra-kalatrayoḥ ॥

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[1] In the early Sanskrit dramas, generally the wife is addressed by the husband by name, but the husband by the wife as *āryaputra* (the noble one's son). In the *Madhyamavyāyoga*, a Brāhmaṇa addresses his wife as *Brāhmaṇī* (a Brāhmaṇa woman), while his wife calls him *ārya* (the noble one). In the *Cārudatta* also, the Brāhmaṇa hero mentions his wife as *Brāhmaṇī*, while, in the *Abhijñānaśakuntala*, Duṣyanta addresses Śakuntalā by name though the latter mentions the former rarely as *ārya*and addresses him generally as *āryaputra*, but occasionally as *Paurava* (a scion of the Puru clan). A South Indian wife believes that to utter her husband's name even in a dream would bring him to an untimely end (J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, abgd., Vol. I, p 328). In any case, such avoidance appears to have been a trait of the social behaviour of the Nonaryans of India.

[2] This involves privileged familiarity between people of the same sex as well.

[3] Quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, s. v. *nāma*.

This says that one should not utter the names of the following : one's own self, one's preceptor or any elder, a miserly person, one's eldest son and one's wife. The stanza however does not refer to most of the peculiarities of social behaviour indicated above. As regards the name of a miser in the list of unutterable names, we may mention a Bengali superstition that the utterance of a miser's name brings ill luck especially in the matter of getting one's food on the day concerned.[1]

The tribal rule of representing unutterable names in a clever way is popular among the Bengalis, including Brāhmaṇas and Muhammadans. One way of doing it is of course to use the word indicating relationship instead of the name of a person, e. g., 'my father-in-law'. Another way is to indicate a person by a word like *amuk* meaning 'so-and-so'. A third way is the substitution of the first consonant of the unutterable names by some other consonant (especially the consonant *ph*), e. g., the names Lakṣmī, Harikṛṣṇa, Jagatnārāyaṇ, Haridās, etc., changed to Phakṣmī, Pharíphṛṣṇa, Phagatnārāyaṇ, Pharidās or Karidās, etc.

The more interesting practice prevalent among the people of Bengal is the avoidance of words having some similarity in sound with a part of the unutterable names. The similarity is naturally determined on the basis of local pronunciation. A list of personal names, words resembling them or part of them and the substitutes for the avoided words as used particularly in the central areas of the country (now in East Pakistan) is quoted below.

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[1] Cf. the name Ekādaśī Vairāgī applied (in a short story of Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay) to a miserly Vairāgī, the Ekādaśī *tithi* being a fast day for the religious people.

Name	*Word*	*Substitute*
1. Ādyanāth, Ādimohan, Adiladdīn, etc. (nickname *Ādā*)	*ādā* (ginger)	*jhālikā*[1]
2. Amīraddīn, etc.	*ām* (mango) *ambuvāci* (Bengali coloquial *āmāvati*) *amāvāsyā*	*phal* (fruit) *phalvatī* **phalvāsyā**
3. Candranāth Pūrṇacandra, etc.	*cānd* (moon)	*jyochnā* (moonlight)
4. Gaurāṅga, Gaurmohan, etc.	*garu* (cow)	*seoṭ-bāchur*, *baḍa bāchur* (a big calf)[2]
5. Govindalāl, etc.	Govindapur (name of a village)	*pāṭ-becā hāṭ* (the market place where jute is sold)
6. Kālidās, Kālīnāth, etc.	*kāli* (ink)	*āndhiyā*[3]
7. Kedārnāth, Qader Ali, etc.	*kādā* (mud)	*khic* (clay)
8. Madhusūdan, etc.	*madhu* (honey)	*cāker ras* (juice derived from the honeycomb)
9. Māṇiklāl, etc.	*mān-kacu* (the arum)	*baḍa*(big)-*kacu*
10. Nīlmādhav, Nīlmaṇi, etc.	*nīl* (blue dye)	*kāpaḍe dewā kāli* (ink used in dying cloth)

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[1] The word is possibly derived from the Bengali word *jhāl*, 'pungent'.

[2] The word *bāchur* is derived from Sanskrit *vatsatara* ; but the origin of *seoṭ* is uncertain.

[3] The word is probably derived from *andhikā* in the sense of 'darkness'.

	Name	*Word*	*Substitute*
11.	Nimāicānd	*nim-gāch* (the nimba tree)	*teto-gāch* (the bitter tree)
12.	Pānāullah, Prāṇnāth, etc	*pān* (betel leaf or *bīḍā*)	*boṇṭā* (the stalk of the betel leaf)
13.	Raṅgalāl, etc.	*raṅg* (colour)	*varṇa* (colour)
14.	Rāsmohan, Rāsvihārī, etc.	*rāstā* (road)	*saḍak* (road)
15.	Viśvanāth (pronounced *Biśśonāth*), etc.	*Bṛhaspati-vār* (Bengali coloquial *Biśśud-vār*)	*Budh-vārer parer vār* (the day following Wednesday)
16.	Yāminīkānta (pronounced *Jāminikānto*), etc.	*jām* (Eugenia jambos)	*kālo-phal* (black fruit)

The use of words like *amuk* (so-and-so) in avoiding names and words of relationship is illustrated by a distich said to be a prayer to the god Kārttika (Kārttikeya) offered by a girl whose husband, named Kārttika, was ill. It runs as follows—

amuk-ṭhākur amuk-ṭhākur āmār amuk yadi vāñce |
joḍ-amuk diyā kariba pūjā amuk māse māse ||

"O god So-and-so (Kārttika, Kārttikeya), if my so-and-so (husband) comes round safely, I will offer worship to a double So-and-so (a pair of earthen images of the god Kārttikeya made specially for the purpose) in every so-and-so month (the month of Kārttika every year)."[1]

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[1] There is a belief among scholars that Kārttikeya worship is prevalent in Bengal only among the prostitutes of Calcutta, who honour the god only on certain occasions. Cf. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part ii, p. 413. The stanza quoted above would show that the belief is wrong. In the central areas of Bengal, to which we have referred, Kārttikeya is worshipped by the women especially of the upper classes of Hindus every year on the last day of the month of Kārttika. The priests' services are required in the evening of that day as well as in the morning of the following day.

There is again a popular story about a married girl whose husband and the latter's mother, elder brother and father bore respectively the names Loknāth, Tulsī, Ādyanāth and Madhusūdan, so that she was not in a position to utter the word *lohā* (iron),[1] the name of the *tulasī* plant and the words *ādā* (root stock of ginger) and *madhu* (honey). On one occasion when she had to advise a friend regarding the preparation of an Ayurvedic medicine which required the said four things, she was constrained to say, "Please prepare some juice of my mother-in-law (*tulasī* plant) and some paste of my husband's elder brother (*ādā*) and, after mixing the two, put into the mixture a few drops of my father-in-law (*madhu*) ; then put for a while the Master of the house (my husband, i. e., a piece of iron) into the mixture after burning him well."

The social life especially in the rural areas of Bengal as we saw it in the first quarter of the present century reminds us of the Buryat, Kalmuk, Altaian Turk and Kirghiz tribes of Central Asia, among whom the wife never addresses either of the parents-in-law by name, uncovers her face or removes her dress in the presence of her husband's father or elder kinsmen, crosses their path and sleeps in the same tent or rides in the same wagon. We are especially reminded of the Kirghiz women who must not look into the face of her husband's father or elder kinsmen and never utter their names even if they contain words of common use as in the case of the Bengali women referred to above. What is more interesting is that there is a

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[1] The nickname of Loknāth would be *Lokā* which is corrupted into *Lohā*. This as also *lohā*, which is the Bengali word for 'iron', is further modified into *noā*.

Kirghiz anecdote in which, exactly as in its Bengali counterpart, a woman was prohibited from employing the usual words for lamb, wolf, water and rushes, which formed part of the names of her relatives by marriage, so that, in reporting to her husband about the carrying off of a lamb by a wolf through the rushes on the other side of the water, she was obliged to say, "Look yonder, the howling one (wolf) is carrying away the bleating one's young (lamb) through the rustling ones (rushes) on the other side of the glistening one (water).[1]

In similar avoidance of unutterable names, the Assiniboin of Montana (North America) often likewise use 'something sharp' and ' the animal we ride' in order to indicate respectively 'a knife' and 'a horse', so that we have to admit that resemblances in social behaviour may develop independently.[2] But it is difficult to say that the behaviour of the Hindus and Musalmans (especially of Central Bengal) was not influenced in any way by the Turkish conquest of wide areas of the country in the beginning of the thirteenth century and consequent Muhammadan domination over the land, which ended only about the middle of the eighteenth century. At the same time, it is also quite possible that there was an under-current of primitive tribal trait among the Bengalis, which may have received stimulation from the Turkish practices during the early medieval period.

We have referred above to the avoidance of the words for 'husband' and 'wife' which may be associated with sex. Fear seems to be at the root of another type of avoidance, according to which 'tiger' and 'snake' are mentioned in Central Bengal respectively as 'the big jackal' and 'the rope'.

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[1] See R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, 1925, p. 85.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

CHAPTER XII

BRIDE, WIDOW AND SLAVE

I

There is a story in Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*, which relates to the selection of a bride for himself by a youngman of the mercantile community. It has several interesting aspects, the most important of them being the ancient Indian conception regarding female beauty and the accomplishments of a suitable bride and the information about the daily life of the people of the lower middle class. The story is the *Gominī-vṛttānta* in Chapter VI of the *Daśakumāracarita*.[1] It may be summarised as follows.

In the Draviḍa country, there was a city called Kāñcī. There lived a Śreṣṭhin's son named Śaktikumāra who was very rich. When he was about eighteen years old, he anxiously reflected : 'There can be no happiness for a man without a wife, or with a wife lacking requisite accomplishments and virtues. How therefore may I get an accomplished wife ?' Thus Śaktikumāra became uncertain about the satisfaction in a wife got through other people's recommendations. He then professed to be a fortune-teller (*Kārtāntika*),[2] tucked one *prastha*[3] of Śāli paddy in his garments' hem, and roamed the earth. People having daughters of marriageable age exhibited them to him in order to get their stigmata interpreted. But, whenever he met a *savarṇa* girl (*i.e.* a girl belonging to his own community) with good signs, Śaktikumāra would ask, "My good girl, can you properly feed me only with this *prastha* of Śāli ? " He, however, had to wander from house to house ridiculed and rejected.

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[1] Jīvānanda's edition, pp. 264-74 ; Krishna Shastri's edition, pp. 200-06 ; cf. Arthur W. Ryder, *The Ten Princes*, Chicago, 1927, pp. 168-73.

[2] Cf. the professional match-makers called *Ghaṭaka* in Bengal.

[3] According to some, one *prastha* was equal to 128 *tolās*, i e. about three pounds,

In a city on the right (*i.e.*, the southern) bank of the river Kāverī, in the Śibi country,[1] Śaktikumāra one day saw a poor maiden without ornaments, who had lost her parents and lived in a dilapidated house. Gominī, for that was the maiden's name, was presented to the merchant's son by her nurse. Our *Kārtāntika* now set his eyes on her and noticed that she possessed all the auspicious characteristics. None of her limbs was too fat or too thin, too short or too long, rough or unclean. Her fingers were pink on the inner side, and her palms marked with such good signs as the barley corn, the fish, the lotus and the pitcher. Her ankle-joints were even, the feet were plump and not stingy ; and the calves were tapering as the cow's tail. The knees slipped into the plumpness of the thighs almost unobserved. Gominī's hips were symmetrical, squarish, beautiful for the demarcation of the cavities of the loins and were shaped like chariot-wheels. Her navel was fine, and flat but deep. The lower part of the body (*udara*) was adorned with three plicatures, and the breasts had emergent nipples and broad bases and covered the entire chest. The creeper-like arms had hands marked with the lines promising wealth, rich harvests and many sons, glossy and with soft nails resembling jewels, and straight, tapering and copper-coloured fingers. These arms again were exquisite and without the knobbiness of joints, and they slipped smoothly into the low region of the shoulder. Gominī's neck was slender with the curve of a conch-shell. Her lotus-like face had roundish lips with the pink colour demarcated in the middle by the whiteness of the teeth, and a broad and fine chin. The region of the cheeks was full and firm, and the creeper-like brows joining each other were curved, dark blue and glossy. The nose resembled a half-blown sesamum blossom, and the big gentle eyes had a wet, but fickle, glance flashing with three colours —pure black, white and pink. The forehead was as beautiful as the crescent moon, and the charming curls resembled sapphires. The ears were adorned with the pending double-rings of a lotus stalk, and the locks were slightly wavy, abundant, not brownish even at the end, long, of equal length, glossy blue in colour, and fragrant.

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[1] The location of the Śibi country on the Kāverī in the land of the Draviḍas or Tamilians points to the migration of a branch of the Śibis, originally living about the Jhang District of the West Punjab and later in the Chitodgadh District of Rajasthan, to the south. Cf. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, pp. 204-05.

Śaktikumāra thought, 'Such an appearance ensures virtue in the girl. My heart again attaches itself to her. Let me therefore marry her after a test. For continuous regret is the sure lot of a person who misses opportunities.' Then, with an affectionate glance, he said to Gominī, "My good girl, are you so clever and experienced as to be able to feed me properly only with this *prastha* of Śāli ?"

Gominī signalled with her eyes to the old maid servant (i. e., the nurse) who took the *prastha* of Śāli from Śaktikumāra's hand. The maid servant next gave the merchant's son water to wash his feet and seated him in a spot, carefully washed and swept, before the housedoor. Gominī first trampled the fragrant Śāli; then she dried it a little at a time by turning it repeatedly in the sun. Next she put the Śāli on a hard and level spot, struck it gently with a hollow stalk (*nālī*) and extracted the kernels from the husks which were not crushed. Thereafter she said to her nurse, "Mother, the goldsmiths find a use for these husks which serve to polish ornaments. Sell these to them, and by the *Kākinīs*[1] thus earned, bring solid firewood—not too moist nor too dry, a medium size earthen cooking pot (*sthālī*) and two earthen saucers (*śarāva*)."

When this was done, Gominī put the grains in a shallow, open and wide-bellied mortar (*ulūkhala*) made of Arjuna wood and struck them with a pestle (*mūṣala*) which was long, heavy, made of Khadira wood, plated with iron at the head, smooth in the body, with a perceptible thinness in its waist. The girl's action showed the busy grace and skill of her arms, and the pestle began to rise and fall. She repeatedly made the grains hop and sink with her fingers, and then stripped them of awns (*kiṁśāruka*) in the winnowing fan (*śūrpa*). Next she rinsed the grains several times in water, and, after having duly honoured the fireplace (*datta-cullī-pūja*), dropped them into boiled water, the measure of which was five times that of the grains. As the grains softened in body, hopped and swelled, Gominī controlled the fire, fitted a lid to the cooking pot and strained off the scum (*maṇḍa*). Then she patted the boiled rice inside the pot with a ladle (*darvī*) and stirred it a little at a time. When the clots were well-cooked, she set the cooking pot upside down. Thereafter she sprinkled with water the faggots that were only scorched and not completely burnt, and sent the charred sticks to persons willing to purchase them. "Sell them," she said to her nurse, "and bring as much as you can in vegetables (*śāka*), Ghee (*ghṛta*), curds (*dadhi*), oil (*taila*), embelic myrobalan (*āmalaka*) and tamarind (*ciñcā*), with the *Kākinīs* thus earned."

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[1] According to some, 1 *Kākinī* was equal to 20 cowrie-shells.

That having been done, Gominī prepared two or three *upadaṁśas* (preparations of vgetables, etc., that excite thirst or appetite ; relish condiments). The scumy broth was set in a new saucer (*śarāva*) put in moist sand, and the maiden cooled it with the gentle breeze from a palm leaf fan. She then added sufficient salt to it and let the smoke of woodfire scent it. Next, she ground the embelic so well as to bring out an odour sweet as that of a lotus. Now, the maiden purified herself by a bath and requested Śaktikumāra, through the nurse, to bathe. The merchant's son was then given the embelic paste and oil, and he took his bath.

Then Śaktikumāra seated himself on a wooden plank (*phalaka*) on the pavement which had been washed and swept. He fingered the two wet saucers (i. e., saucers washed with water) that had been served on the quarter of a greenish white (i. e., slightly ripened) plantain leaf clipped from a tree in the courtyard. Gominī then placed the rice gruel before him. Śaktikumāra drank, became fully refreshed and was highly pleased with calmness pervading his whole frame. Gominī next served him with two ladlefuls of boiled rice with a little ghee, soup (*sūpa*) and *upadaṁśa* (or, *upadaṁśas*). She also served him curds with *trijātaka* (i. e., *tvak*, cinnamon, *elā*, cardamom, and *patra*, Laurus Cassia), and Śaktikumāra finished the boiled rice, which had been served, with those things and with *kālaśeya* (butter milk) and *kāñjikā* (sour gruel prepared from boiled rice putrefied in water).

Śaktikumāra became satisfied only when the boiled rice served had been finished, and now asked for water. Thereafter Gominī let it spout a continuous stream on the saucer from the cylindrical arm of a new pitcher (*bhṛṅgāra*). The water was scented with the smoke of incense (*aguru*) and with new *pāṭala* flowers and full-blown lotuses. The mercant's son set the saucer to his lips and drank the pure water in great gulps to his full satisfaction. His eye-lashes became tinged and granulated by the clinging drops cool as snow ; his ears took delight in the tinkling sound of the stream ; his cheeks tingled and thrilled at the delicious contact of the water ; his nostrils expanded to the rushing gush of fragrance ; his tongue became entranced by the exquisite flavour. Then Śaktikumāra stopped the maiden by a nod, and she gave him a gargle (*ācamana*) from another vessel (*karaka*). Thereafter the old woman took away the *ucchiṣṭa* (orts, etc.; what remains after one takes one's meals) and cleansed the pavement with greenish cow-dung (*harita-gomaya*). Śaktikumāra then wrapped himself in his wrapper (*uttarīya-karpaṭa*) and dozed there for a little time. He became highly pleased with the maiden whom he now married with due ceremony and took her with him to his own home.

Afterwards, however, S´aktikumāra neglected Gominī and made a prostitute his mistress. But Gominī treated her husband's mistress as a dear friend and indefatigably served S´aktikumāra as a god. She performed all household duties satisfactorily and won the affection of the relations (*parijana*) with her considerateness. Captivated by his wife's merits, the merchant's son subordinated all the relations to her and made her the sole mistress of his life and person. Thus S´aktikumāra now enjoyed the three *vargas*—virtue, wealth and love.

Those interested in the study of early Indian society will find the above story extremely interesting, as classical Sanskrit literature generally deals with princes and nobles and rarely sketches the daily life of a poor householder. From this story, one may gather much information regarding ancient Indian social, economic and domestic life and some of it would be as follows.

(1) Marriage of a boy was considered appropriate at about the eighteenth year of age amongst the merchant class. Marriage was performed with a *savarṇa* party. Brides were generally selected by the guardians, but sometimes by the bridegroom himself.

(2) The profession of the fortune-teller was considerably important in social life espcially with reference to marriageable girls and their guardians.

(3) An ancient Indian's ideas regarding female beauty, and the auspicious signs and characteristics of a maiden promising to turn an excellent wife.

(4) The bust of girls above the navel was uncovered as the breasts and the navel could be observed by a stranger. [1]

(5) Skill in the preparation of food and cooking was an essential qualification of the bride.

(6) Maidens were not expected to converse with strangers.

(7) The process of making rice from paddy grain, referred to in the story, is prevalent in many regions of the country excluding parts of Bengal.

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[1] This fashion was popular with the women of the Malayalam-speaking area till recently. There is little doubt that it was popular in wide areas of India in ancient times. With the description of Gominī's developed breasts, one may compare the description of princess Rājyaśrī before her marriage as found in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* (Parab's ed., p. 140). It seems that the *Dharmaśāstra* prescription of the pre-puberty marriage of girls was not strictly followed in all parts of India among all communities.

(8) The process of cooking rice and preparing the *maṇḍa*.

(9) Utensils absolutely necessary in cooking were the *sthālī*, *śarāva* and *darvī*.

(10) Bathing was a daily practice and necessaries for it were *taila* and *āmalaka*.

(11) The 'proper' food consisted of boiled rice, *maṇḍa* with salt, ghee, curds with *trijātaka*, two or three *upadaṁśas* apparently prepared with *śāka*, *ciñcā*, etc., *kālaśeya* and *kāñjikā*. Fish, meat, sweets and milk are not mentioned. *Lavaṇa* used in the preparation of *maṇḍa* was not purchased. Pepper was not in the list of purchases. A poor householder could possibly manage to get these things without going to market.

(12) The process of taking one's meal and 'clearing the table' was not different from that of today.

(13) *Kākinī* was the standard small coin, and things were cheap. Husks could be sold to the goldsmiths. Charred sticks were also sold (possibly to the smiths).

The details of the story are extremely interesting, and similar other deductions are possible. India however is a vast subcontinent and her history covers many hundreds of years. The above illustration of preparing rice, of cooking food and of taking one's meals may not be true to all parts of the country and to all periods of her history. To which part of India and to which period should we then assign the fine picture afforded by the story of Gominī ?

The non-mention of *ḍheṅki* (the rice-husking pedal)[1] in connection with the husking of rice and the absence of fish from the menu appear to rule out Bengal. Boiled rice as the principal food and the conspicuous silence regarding wheat in any form hardly suit any other part of Northern India. What however we know of modern South Indian food, specially with reference to *ciñcā* which is an essentially important factor in the meals of Śaktikumāra, shows that the author of the *Daśakumāracarita* actually refers to the food of the people of the Dravidian area. It is therefore with purpose that the author describes the hero of the story as an inhabitant of Kāñcī in the Draviḍa-deśa and the heroine as hailing from a place on the southern bank of the river Kāverī. The intimate knowledge of Dravidian domestic life on the part of the author makes it almost certain that he was a Southerner. The tradition that Daṇḍin flourished in the Dravidian region[1] is thus supported by the *Daśakumāracarita* ascribed to him.

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[1] For this instrument for husking rice, see Day, *Bengal Peasant Life*, p. 29.

The age to which our picture should be assigned may be determined by the date of the *Daśakumāracarita* and of its author. Keith says, " If, for reasons which will be given later, we place the *Kāvyādarśa* definitely before Bhāmaha (c. A. D. 700), there is no reason to assert that he wrote much earlier, and the chief impression conveyed by the *Daśakumāracarita* is that its geography contemplates a state of things anterior to the empire of Harṣavardhana, and that its comparative simplicity suggests a date anterior to the work of Subandhu and Bāṇa."[2] The *Daśakumāracarita* mentions the cities, Valabhī and Kaliṅganagara,[3] and this fact is sufficient to assign its author to a period later than 500

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[1] S. K. Aiyangar, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, pp. 205-07.

[2] *Hist. Sans. Lit*., pp. 296-97. Kieth seems to have regarded Daṇḍin as a Northerner.

[3] Calcutta ed., pp. 275, 289.

A. D., because the history of the Maitrakas who founded Valabhī and of the Gaṅgas who founded Kaliṅganagara cannot be traced to an age much earlier than that date. The author of the work generally deals with imaginary and unhistorical characters ; but if we think that, since he was a Southerner, his reference to Jayasiṁha, king of the Andhra country,[1] may have a grain of historicity, the *Daśakumāracarita* can be assigned to the 7th century A. D. For there was actually an Āndhra king named Jayasiṁha (I) who ruled in c. 633-63 A. D.[2]

In any case the picture of domestic life we have drawn above is to be ascribed to the Dravidian land and to the 6th or 7th century A. D., more probably to the 7th.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 300.

[2] Some scholars are inclined to draw too much history out of this work of fiction.

II

The change of a married woman's *gotra* or clan name, which is technically known as *gotrāntara*, is an essential feature of Hindu marriage today. With marriage, the bride loses connection with her father's *gotra* and has to adopt that of her husband ; she no longer remains a member of her father's family, but comes formally to belong exclusively to the family of her husband. In this connection, the authority very often quoted is the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* (XII. 75) which says :

vivāh-ānantaraṁ nārī pati-gotreṇa gotriṇī.

When exactly this change of the *gotra* takes place is a point on which authorities differ. Bijay Bhushan Ghosh Chaudhuri in his Bengali work entitled *Āsām O Baṅgadeśer Vivāha-paddhati* (The Marriage Rituals in Bengal and Assam), second edition, pp. 311-16, has discussed the above question in some detail. He has quoted several authorities ; but his treatment of the subject is based entirely on a discussion of the topic in Raghunandana's *Udvāhatattva*.[1] After Raghunandana, Ghosh Chaudhuri refers to the following authorities.

1. Laghu-Hārīta as quoted in the *Udvāhatattva* :
Sva-gotrād=bhraśyate nārī vivāhāt =saptame pade ।
pati-gotreṇa kartavyā tasyāḥ piṇḍodaka-kriyā ॥
2. Bṛhaspati as quoted in Śūlapāṇi's *Śrāddhaviveka* :
Pāṇi-grahaṇikā mantrāḥ pitṛ-gotr-āpahārakāḥ ।
bhartur =gotreṇa nārīṇāṁ deyaṁ piṇḍodakaṁ tataḥ ॥

3 Some authors like Bhavadeva-bhaṭṭa quote the following verses which they ascribe to Manu :

Vivāhe c=aiva nivṛtte cathurthe =’hani rātriṣu ।
ekatvaṁ sā gatā bhartuḥ piṇḍe gotre ca sūtake ॥
cathurthī-homa-mantreṇa tvaṅ-māṁsa-hṛday-
-endriyaiḥ ।
bhartrā saṁyujyate nārī tad-gotrā tena sā bhavet ॥

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[1] Baṅgabāsī ed., pp. 112 ff.

It will be seen that in the verses quoted above, the change of the bride's *gotra*, from her father's to her husband's, is admitted. While, however, some authorities, including Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa and Raghunandana, believe that the change comes into effect with the *sapta-padī-gamana* (i. e., the seven ceremonial steps walked by the bride and bridegroom at marriage), others including Bhavadeva-bhaṭṭa and a commentator on the *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra* think that the *gotrāntara* takes place with the *caturthī-karman* (*i.e.* the consummation of marriage by sexual intercourse performed in the fourth night of the marriage ceremony). There is, however, still another group of authorities that gives a different verdict on the change of the bride's *gotra.*

4. Kātyāyana referred to by Raghunandana and quoted by his commentator Vācaspati :

saṁsthitāyāṁ tu bhāryāyāṁ sapiṇḍīkaraṇ-āntakam ।
paitrikaṁ bhajate gotram =ūrddhvan =tu pati-paitrikam ॥

According to this authority, the *gotra* of a married woman from her death to her *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* (a particular *Śrāddha* ceremony to be performed one year after death) is that of her father. It is, however, sometimes wrongly believed that the word *bhāryā* here means only a selected bride and not a married wife.

5. The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* :[1]

Brāhm-ādisu vivāheṣu yā vadhūr=iha saṁskṛtā ।
bhartṛ-gotreṇa kartavyās=tasyāḥ piṇḍodaka-kriyāḥ ॥
Āsuradi-vivāheṣu yā vyūḍhā kanyakā bhavet ।
tasyās=tu pitṛ-gotreṇa kuryāt=piṇḍodaka-kriyām ॥

In the opinion of the *Purāṇakāra* therefore the change of the bride's *gotra* takes place only if she is married according to the Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa and Prājāpatya forms of matrimony, but not if she is married according to its Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākṣasa and Paiśāca varieties. The reason implied seems to be the absence of *sampradāna* (i.e. ceremonial offering of the bride by her father, etc., to the bridegroom) in the Āsurādi forms of marriage.

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[1] Baṅgabāsī ed., Uttara-khaṇḍa, XXVI, verses 21-22.

6. The same Purāṇa[1] gives the following verdict on the *gotrāntara* of the *Putrikā* (daughter adopted by her sonless father as his son and heir) :

Putrikā pati-gotrā syād = adhastāt = putra-janmanaḥ |
putr-otpatteḥ purastāt = sā pitṛ-gotraṁ vrajet = punaḥ ||

It says that the *Putrikā* gets back her father's *gotra* after the birth of her son.

In this connection, it may be pointed out that there is a probable reference to one's mother's *gotra* in the *Manusmṛiti* (III. 5), while Manu's commentators as well as the later *Nibandhakāras* refer clearly to the mother's *gotra* of a person desirous of matrimony.

Manu :

A-sapiṇḍā ca yā mātur = a-sagotrā ca yā pituḥ |
sā praśastā vivāheṣu dāra-karmaṇi maithune ||

Vyāsa :

Sagotrāṁ mātur = apy = eke n = ecchanty = udvāha-karmaṇi |
janma-nāmnor = a-vijñāne udvahed = a-viśaṅkitaḥ ||

Vasiṣṭha :

Mātulasya sutāñ = c = aiva mātṛ-gotrāṁ tath = aiva ca ||

Almost all medieval *Nibandhakāras*, who did not question the change of a bride's *gotra* at marriage, had to attempt an explanation of this 'mother's *gotra*' of the bridegroom. Ganganath Jha discussed in details the views of the *Parāśaramādhava*,[2] which are worthy of note. "It raises the question," says this authority, "that the separate mention of the mother is superfluous, as the wife has no *piṇḍa* or *gotra* apart from the husband's, so that the *a-sapiṇḍā* and *a-sagotrā* of the mother would be the same as those of the father, and it supplies the answer that in the case of the Gāndharva and other forms of marriage, the bride being not given away by her father, she retains her (*i. e.* her father's) *gotra* and *piṇḍa*, so that her *sapiṇḍā* and *sagotrā* would not be the same as those of her husband."

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[1] *Ibid.*, XXVI, verse 39.

[2] *Manusmṛti*, Calcutta, Part II, p. 160.

The above explanation no doubt reminds one of the verses on *gotrāntara* quoted above from the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*. We have to consider if this explanation can be applied to all cases, in view of the fact that, whenever a woman's *gotra* is mentioned in the early epigraphic records of India, it is almost in all cases found to be different from the *gotra* of her husband. It is well known that the people of ancient India, especially of the Deccan, mentioned their names usually with metronymics pointing to the maternal *gotra*. The custom was quite popular with the royal families. To mention just a few of the ancient Indian rulers with metronymics of this type, one may refer to Gautamīputra S'ātakarṇi (*i.e.* S'ātakarṇi born of a lady belonging to the Gautama *gotra*) and his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi, Vāsiṣṭhīputra S'ānta-mūla and his son Māṭharīputra Vīrapuruṣadatta, Hāritīputra Paravarasena and his son Gautamīputra belonging to the Viṣṇuvṛddha *gotra*, Pārāśarīputra Sarvatāta, Gārgīputra Viśvadeva, Gauptīputra Aṅgāradyut, Vātsyīputra Dhanabhūti, etc.[1] The personal name of the mother of at least one of the above kings is known. She was *Mahādevī* Gautamī Balaśrī, mother of Gautamīputra S'ātakarṇi. These metronymics were probably used because the kings wanted to distinguish themselves from their predecessors bearing their name as well as from their numerous step-brothers. Whatever that may be, it is clear from the metronymics that *gotrāntara* was not an essential feature of the popular form of Indian marriage in the centuries about the beginning of the Christian era. Whether that popular form of marriage has to be identified with any of the four varieties, viz. Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākṣasa and Paiśāca, is of course not quite clear.

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[1] When the father is found to have been born of a girl of one *gotra* and the son of a lady of another, it is evident that the said *gotras* were those of the paternal families of the ladies in question.

There are many other instances of the absence of *gotrāntara* in ancient Indian matrimony besides those indicated by the metronymics.

Some inscriptions of 130 A. D. have been found engraved on *śilā-yaṣṭis* or monumental stone-pillars discovered at a place called Andhau in Kutch in the present Gujarat State.[1] Three of the pillars were erected by a person named Madana, son of Siṁhila, in honour of his dead relatives who were Madana's co-uterine sister Jyeṣṭhavīrā of the Aupaśati *gotra*, his co-uterine brother Ṛṣabhadeva of the Aupaśati *gotra* and his wife Yaśodattā of the Sainika *gotra*. These records show that Jyeṣṭhavīrā and Ṛṣabhadeva, who were daughter and son respectively of Siṁhila, belonged to the same *gotra*. But, while their brother Madana belonged apparently to the Aupaśati *gotra*, his wife Yaśodattā, daughter of Siṁhamitra, belonged to the Sainika *gotra*. The ladies Jyeṣṭavīrā and Yaśodattā therefore claimed their paternal *gotras*.

In the fifth century A.D., Prabhāvati-guptā, daughter of Candragupta II (376-413 A.D.) of Magadha and widow of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II of Berar ruled for some years her husband's territories as the mother of the crown-prince

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[1] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 167 ff.

Divākarasena.[1] Her husband belonged to the Viṣṇuvṛddha *gotra* ; but Prabhāvatī not only claims the Dhāraṇa *gotra*, apparently the *gotra* of the Gupta family to which her father belonged, but also calls herself *Guptā*. The Vākāṭaka queen, who was the *agra-mahiṣī* of Rudrasena II, thus retained both her paternal *gotra* and her paternal cognomen. It may be noted in this connection that, like Prabhāvatī, her mother Kubera-nāgā, who was born in a Nāga family and was one of the queens of Chandragupta II, did not lose her paternal family name at marriage. It therefore seems that the loss of neither the paternal *gotra* nor the paternal family name on the part of the bride was an essential feature of the popular forms of Indian marriage as late as the fifth century A.D.

It is evident from works like the *Mahābhārata* and the *Manusmṛti* that the way of securing a wife and a son in ancient India was rather irregular in comparison with the definite and regular systems of later days. Many of the marital unions of early times can hardly be reconciled with the social ideals of modern India. The *gotrāntara* seems to have become a regular feature of marriage only after the popularisation of later ideas in the Indian Society. It seems that the forms of marriage not involving *gotrāntara* were quite popular at least down to the fifth century A. D.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 411 ff.

III

The village of Nanduru lies about ten miles to the north of Bapatla, headquarters of the Taluk of that name in the Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. Sometime about 1930, some workmen, in course of digging earth for use in the rice fields, discovered a brick encasement containing an inscribed earthen pot. The pot was later transferred to the Sāradāniketana, a well-known Girls' School at Guntur, where it is now preserved. It is said to be 5½ inches in height, while the measurement of the circumference of its mouth is given as 11 inches and that of its belly as a little above 16 inches.

There are three deeply incised lines on the pot, one running round its belly and the two others just below its neck. The letters of the inscription are incised between the line on the belly and the second line below the neck. It has been pointed out that the pot resembles in shape the big burial urns, recovered from Adichchanallur and Perumbur and now preserved in the Madras Museum.

The inscription, in Brāhmī characters of about the third century A.D., is in one line containing only seven *akṣaras* and two marks of interpunctuation. These marks are formed by putting two dots vertically before a curve and denote the early form of the later *daṇḍa* preceded by the *visarga*-like sign found in numerous records including the Madras Museum plates of the time of Narendradhavala.[1] The letters, which are deeply incised and quite clear, had apparently been engraved before the earthen pot was dried up and baked in the furnace.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, Plates facing pp. 50 and 51.

The inscription is quite clear and well-preserved. It reads : *Āyamaṇi* । *Pūṣṭikā* ।

K.A. Nilakanta Sastri published the above inscription in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. VIII, 1934, pp. 95-99. He deciphered it as : *Āyamaṇi pruṣṭikā*. His explanation of the inscription runs as follows : "The word (i.e., *pruṣṭikā*) in this form is unknown......But I think it may be safely connected with *pruṣṭa*, a word known to Amarasiṁha (*pruṣṭa-pluṣṭ-oṣitā dagdhe*, III. i. 99) in the sense of 'burnt'......*Pruṣṭikā* would, if what has been said so far is correct, mean literally anything that is burnt. Though it may thus conceivably mean 'a pot', I think it is meant to apply to the contents of the pot, the relics of some person preserved in it. If the interpretation of the second word is correct, the first would naturally give the name of the person whose relics were thus preserved. The name, as we read it, is Āyamaṇi. Considering the provenance of the pot, one is tempted to say that this word, Āryamaṇi, shows the pot to be the reliquary of no less a person than the celebrated Buddhist divine Āryadeva (a disciple of Nāgārjuna)."

I am sorry that I find it difficult to agree with either the reading or the interpretation of the record as offered by Sastri. It will be seen that, even if the interpretation of the word *pruṣṭikā* in the sense of the relics of a dead man is not regarded as impossible, the name Āyamaṇi, Āryamaṇi or *Ārya* Maṇi cannot be confidently taken to be the same as Āryadeva. Again, if the inscription was intended to convey the sense of 'the relics of Āyamaṇi', the marks of interpunctuation after *Āyamaṇi*, a word used without any case-ending (although the sixth case-ending was expected) seems to remain unexplained. What is more important, however, is that the reading *pruṣṭikā* is certainly wrong. The first of the three *akṣaras* is undoubtedly *pū* and not *pru*, and consequently the correct reading of the word or name is *pūṣṭikā* and cannot be *pruṣṭikā*. The medial *ū* sign in *pū* in the Nanduru inscription is exactly of the type to be noticed in records like the Jaggayyapeta and Nagarjunikonda inscriptions of the Ikṣvāku kings who flourished in the Krishna-Guntur region in the third-fourth century A.D. The inscription under review also belongs to the same area and period. Attention may be drawn to *pū* as found in the Jaggayyapeta records and reproduced by G.H. Ojha in his *Prācīn-Lipimālā*, 1918, Plate XII. In this connection, it may be pointed out that, although *pru* is not met with in early South Indian epigraphs, the subscript *r* and medial *u* with *p* must have resembled the same signs found in conjuncts like *dhru* as reproduced by Ojha, *op. cit.*, Plate XVI, from the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.

Sastri's suggestion regarding the mention of Āryadeva in the inscription under review seems to show that he is inclined to assign the record to the second century A.D. Considering, however, the influence of Sanskrit in the conjunct *ṣṭi* in the word or name discussed above, I do not think that the epigraph is earlier than the third century.[2]

Āyamaṇi seems to be the name of a man and Pūṣṭikā

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1. Cf. the facsimiles of the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions B 5, line 5; C 3, line 7; C 5, line 2; etc., published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX. See also *mū* in the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions B 2, line 3, etc. Attention may further be drawn to *khū* reproduced by Ojha, *op. cit.*, Plate IX, from the inscriptions of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and *mū* and *dū* in *op. cit.*, Plate VIII, from the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman (cf. *pū* in the facsimile of the same inscription, lines 10 and 11, in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII).

2. Cf. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, 1939, p. 166.

that of a woman. I therefore think it reasonable to suggest that Āyamaṇi was the husband of Pūṣṭikā who committed *sahamaraṇa* (also called *sahagamana* and *anvārohaṇa*), more commonly known as *Satīdāha* or *Satī* (Suttee), that is to say, she burnt herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. In case the relics of both the husband Āyamaṇi and the wife Pūṣṭikā were jointly preserved in the pot under review, we may understand why their names only, followed by marks of interpunctuation, were inscribed on the pot without any case-ending with them. The relics represented the persons themselves and we know that on numerous seals the names of the persons concerned are offered without the first or sixth case-ending noticed elsewhere. The custom indicated by the record under notice seems to have been that, on the occasion of the *Satī*, a potter was asked to make an earthen pot especially for the purpose of preserving together the relics of the husband and wife with their names inscribed on it.

H. T. Colebrooke gives excellent accounts of the *Satī* and the funeral ceremony as indicated in the Sanskrit texts on law.[1] In connection with the latter, he says, " The fire must be so managed that some bones may remain for the subsequent ceremony of gathering the ashes. On the last day of mourning, or earlier in those countries where the obsequies are expedited on the second or third day, the nearest kinsman of the deceased gathers his ashes after offering a *śrāddha* singly for him……The son or nearest relation of the defunct, accompanied by his kinsmen and clothed in clean apparel, repairs to the cemetery carrying eight vessels filled with various flowers, roots and similar things……He advances to the northern gate[1] or extremity of the funeral pile, sits down there and presents two vessels as an oblation to spirits...... Then walking round the spot with his right side towards it, he successively places two other vessels containing eight different things at each of the three other gates or sides of the enclosure which surrounds the funeral pile[1] ......He then... ...silently sprinkles the bones and ashes with cow's milk and using a branch of the Śamī and another of Palāśa instead of tongs, first draws out from the ashes the bones of the head and afterwards the other bones successively, sprinkles them with perfumed liquids and with clarified butter of cow's milk, and puts them into a casket made of the leaves of Palāśa : this he places in a new earthen vessel, covers it with a lid, and ties it up with thread. Choosing some clean spot where encroachments of the river are not to be apprehended, he digs a very deep hole, and spreads Kuśa grass at the bottom of it, and over the grass a piece of yellow cloth ; he places thereon the earthen vessel containing the bones of the deceased, covers it with a lump of mud together with thorns, moss and mud, and plants a tree in the excavation, or raises a mound of masonry, or makes a pond, or erects a standard......To cover the spot where the funeral pile stood, a tree should be planted, or a mound of masonry be raised, or a pond be dug, or a standard be erected.[2] Again, at a subsequent time, the son, or other near relation, carries the bones which were so buried, to the river Ganges : he bathes there, rubs the vessel with the five productions of kine, puts gold, honey, clarified butter and *tila* on the vessel, and looking towards the south, and advancing into the river......throws the vessel into the waters of the Ganges......"

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[1] Cf. *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I, 1837, pp. 114-22, 155 ff.

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[1] It is said that the practice of enclosing the funeral pile with temporary walls is almost universally disused.

[2] It is said that this does not appear to be very universally practised ; but a monument is always erected on the spot where a woman has burnt herself with her husband's corpse, or where a person has died a legal voluntary death.

It appears that the re-excavation of the buried earthen pot containing the relics of a dead man for throwing it into the waters of a river was not always possible even if the custom was followed in all parts of the country.

It is well known that the earliest epigraphical evidence of the self-immolation of a widow on the funeral pile of her husband was hitherto furnished by an inscription of 510 A. D. from Eran in the Saugor District of Madhya Pradesh.[1] But the prevalence of the custom of *Satī* in South India in the third century A. D., as evidenced by the inscription under reference, need not surprise us. There is definite evidence to show that the *Satī* was practised in India at least from the fourth century B. C. down to 1829 A. D. when it was prohibited by law.[2]

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[1] See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 335-36.

[2] For a short history of the practice in different parts of India, see P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, pp. 620 ff.

IV

In a short note appearing in the *Indian Historical Quarterly,* June 1957, pp. 139 ff., V.S. Agrawala has shown how the passage *kapola-pāṭan-ādeśi* has been wrongly read[1] by some commentators as *kapola-pāṭal-ādeśi* in the following stanza in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV. 68)—

tatra Hūṇ-āvarodhānāṁ bhartṛṣu vyakta-vikramam |
kapola-pāṭan-ādeśi babhūva Raghu-ceṣṭitam ||

The poet says here that the invasion of the Hūṇa land on the Vaṁkṣu river (i. e. the Oxus) resulted in the destruction of the Hūṇa chiefs and the consequent scarification of the cheeks of their wives.

Agrawala draws our attention to the commentaries on the *Raghuvaṁśa,* according to which the word *pāṭana* means *vidāraṇa, kuṭṭana* or *nakh-otkarṣaṇa* and which refer to an interesting Hūṇa custom in passages like *Hūṇa-striyaḥ kapola-pāṭana-pūrvaṁ rorudant=īti tad-deś-ācāraḥ, pati-vadhān=nāryo rudatyaḥ kuca-kapolaṁ nakhair=vidārayanti, pati-vadhāt=tatra deśe striyaḥ kapolaṁ nakhair=vidārayant=īti,* etc. It will be seen that, while Kālidāsa and some of the commentators speak of the scarification of the cheeks of the Hūṇa widows, others mention in this connection their breasts along with the cheeks. According to some commentaries, the pricking of the cheeks and breasts of the Hūṇa women was done by them with their finger nails.

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[1] A similar case of the supersession of the less known by the well-known is offered in the same context by the *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV. 67) where the commentator Vallabha reads *Vaṁkṣu* (Oxus), while others including Mallinātha have *Sindhu* (Indus).

Our attention has also been drawn by Agrawala to what Stanislas Julien says on this Turkish custom on the authority of Chinese accounts : "It is said that they (the widows) go round their tents making doleful lamentations and prick their faces with a knife so that one sees blood flowing with the tears." The reference here is to the scarification of the faces (i. e. cheeks) by means of a knife and not of the cheeks and breasts with finger nails. But there is no doubt that the same custom is indicated.

Further information on the custom is supplied by the recently discovered Paschimbhag (Sylhet District, East Pakistan) copper-plate inscription of king Śrīcandra of the Candra dynasty of South-Eastern Bengal, who flourished in the tenth century A.D. The inscription has been just published by Mr. Kamala Kanta Gupta Chaudhury of Sylhet.[1]

The correct reading of a verse in the description of Śrīcandra's military achievements runs as follows—

santoṣam Raṇa-devatāṅ=gamayatā vīry-āvadānair = nijair =
nūnaṁ mṛṣṭaṁ Yama(va)nī-payodhara-taṭe patr-āṅguli-
maṇḍanam |
śoka-pracchana-jarjaraṁ viracitṁ Hūṇī-kapol-odaraṁ
yen = onmūlitam = Utkalī-nayanayos = tālī-surā-ghūrṇitam ||

Reference is here made to three interesting practices popular among the women respectively of the Yavana, Hūṇa and Utkala peoples. The custom of the Yavana girls was to draw lines of painting on their breasts with coloured sandal-wood or saffron paste or any other fragrant substance,[1] while the Utkala women are represented as addicted to toddy. But we are concerned here with what has been said about the Hūṇa women. We are told that they made their cheeks and belly *śoka-pracchana-jarjara* in which *jarjara* means 'wounded' and *pracchana* is used for *pracchāna* or *pracchita* in the sense of 'scarification'. Thus *śoka-pracchana-jarjara* suggests that the aggrieved Hūṇa women scarified their cheeks and belly.

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[1] See *Nalini Kanta Bhattasali Commemoration Volume*, Dacca, 1966, pp. 166ff. Mr. Gupta Chaudhury could not read and interpret the stanza without errors.

It appears therefore that the Indians of old had information about an interesting custom prevalent among the Hūṇa women, according to which they mourned the loss of their husband by scarifying their cheeks, breasts and belly by means of a knife or their nails. The intention behind the custom was apparently to make a widow ugly to look at so that others may not be eager to woo her.

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[1] This was a popular Indian custom known also as *patra*, *patrabhaṅga*, *patrabhaṅgī*, *patralekhā*, etc. Cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*, XXIII. 55. We do not know whether it was prevalent among foreigners.

V

There was an old document written in the Maithilī script on thick countrymade paper in the possession of the late Pandit Bābuā Miśra Jyotiṣācārya who was a Maithil Brāmaṇa belonging to the vallage of Koilakh under the Madhubani Police Station of the Darbhanga District, Bihar. For many years, the Pandit served the University of Calcutta as a Lecturer in the Department of Modern Indian Languages. The document in question was drawn in favour of Kamalanayana Śarmā who was the great-great-grandfather of Pandit Miśra. It is a deed of *ātma-vikraya* (sale of a person by himself) offering a medieval illustration of an ancient Indian practice.

The language of the record is Sanskrit with only two lines at the end in Maithilī. The date as given in it is both interesting and important. It is the 3rd day of the dark fortnight of the month of Caitra of the Saka year 1651 corresponding to the Lakṣmaṇasena year 620 and the Faslī year 1136. The astronomical details appear to show that the date corresponds to Tuesday, the 24th February, 1730 A. D. It is to be noted that the Lakṣmaṇa-saṁvat date of the document follows the formula L. S. + 1108 = A. D. in accordance with the present day almanacs of Mithila, and not L. S. + 1119 = A. D. as suggested by Kielhorn in regard to the older dates of the reckoning.[1]

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[1] Cf. *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, pp. 233ff.; Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 271ff.

On the above date, the *Mahāsuratrāṇa* *S'rī-śrī-śrī-śrī*-Mahammada-Sāha was ruling the earth, i. e., was the supreme ruler. Mahammada-Sāha, whose name is prefixed with no less than four *S'rīs* just to indicate his majesty, is no doubt the Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shāh (1719-48 A. D.). *Suratrāṇa* is the Sanskritized form of the Muhammadan title Sultān, and *Mahāsuratrāṇa* has been coined on the analogy of *Mahārāja*. It is very interesting that the epithets *Paramabhāṭṭārak-Āśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rājatray-ādhipati*, applied in the document to the Mughal emperor, are the same as those used in the inscriptions of some of the Hindu kings of the early medieval period, e.g., the Gāhaḍavālas of U. P. and the Senas of Bengal, who sometimes ruled over parts of Bihar.[1] The emperor's viceroy stationed at Kusumapura was *S'rī-śrīmat*-Phakara-odaolā-Khāna, i.e., Faqr-ud-Daulah Khān. Kusumapura was another name of the old city of Pāṭaliputra near the site of which stands modern Patna. We know that Faqr-ud-Daulah, Muḥammad Shāh's viceroy at Patna or Kusumapura, ruled Bihar for a short period and was removed from the office in Hijira 1143 (1730-31 A. D.).[2] At that time, *Mahārāja S'rī-śrīmad*-Rāghavasiṁha was ruling over Mithilā as a subordinate to the Governor of Bihar.[3] Mithilā, which was originally the capital of the ancient Videha-janapada, has been identified with modern Janakpur in the Nepalese Tarai. But the name of the capital was sometimes applied to the kingdom. Videha or Mithilā comprised North Bihar and the adjoining regions, the later name for which was Tīrabhukti (modern Tirhut). Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Tughluq Shāh (1320-25 A. D.), Sultān of Delhi, is said to have conquered Tirhut from Harisiṁha, the last ruler of the Karṇāṭaka dynasty, in 1324 A. D. The throne of Mithilā was then offered to the Brāhmaṇa Kāmeśvara, founder of the Sugaunā dynasty. During the medieval period, the so-called kings of Mithilā were rulers of a Zamindary or feudatory state in the Darbhanga-Champaran region. *Mahārāja* Śivasiṁha, the patron of the celebrated Maithil poet Vidyāpati (14th-15th century) was one of the famous medieval *Mahārājas* of Mithilā belonging to the dynasty of Kāmeśvara.[1] The last *Mahārājādhirāja* of Darbhanga belonged to the house of Maheśa Ṭhākura who obtained the Zamindary of Darbhanga from Akbar after the extirpation of Kāmeśvara's family by the Muhammadans. Rāghavasiṁha mentioned in the document in question was one of his most distinguished ancestors. The Maithils have a distinct culture of their own. Their language and culture are more closely related to that of the Bengalis than that of the people of Western Bihar.

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[1] See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 143; Vol. XXXV, pp. 235-36.

[2] See Stewart, *Hist. Beng.*, 2nd ed., p. 453; cf. *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. II, ed. J. N. Sarkar, p. 440. His reign period is sometimes wrongly quoted as 1725-29 A. D. (R. K. Chaudhary, *Hist. Bihar*, p. 347).

[3] He was the first to get the title *Rājā* in the Darbhanga Rāj family founded by Maheśa Ṭhākura. He is said to have received the honour in 1700 A. D. Cf. *Imp. Gaz.*, s. v. *Darbhanga*.

The document under study records the sale of one's own self by a person who thereby accepted slavery. Such documents in Sanskrit-Bengali, Persian-Bengali, etc., have been discovered in different parts of Eastern India. The present record shows that slavery was prevalent in Mithilā in the 18th century. It refers to the purchase of a person named Duliyā or Dullī Dāsa, who belonged to the Āmātmya or Āmātaka caste and was about 10 years of age, by another person named Kamalanayana Śarmā Jyotirvid. Both the persons were inhabitants of the village of Saurāṣṭra in the *Tappā* of Hāṭī in the kingdom of Mithilā. Hāṭī is the village of the same name under the Madhubani P. S. of the Darbhanga District. It is about 6 miles from Koilakh. Saurāṣṭra, now called Saurāṭh, is about 6 miles from Hāṭī and is under the same Police Station. The Āmātmya or Āmātaka are now called Āmāt. Persons belonging to the Āmāt, Dhānuk and Kevaṭ castes even now serve respectable people as Khāvās or personal attendant.

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[1] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 333.

The price of the slave was Rupees 11½ which amount was received on behalf of Dullī Dāsa by his relative Parālī Dāsa whose ward has been called a *Vahika*. This word no doubt stands for the modern Maithilī word *Vahiyā*, i. e., a slave. The condition of the purchase was that the slave could by no means flee away and that he could be forcibly carried away by his master even in the case of his taking shelter under the king's throne. Parālī also gave a guarantee to the effect that, in case the slave would flee away within one year from the date, he would without fail find him out and bring him to the master. Apparently Parālī sold the boy ; but, as he had no right to do that, the document was prepared in the name of Dullī who was, however, a minor.

The document bears the names of a large number of witnesses including a *Mahopādhyāya*. Their names were not signed by themselves, but were written by the writer of the document who claims to have drawn it with the permission of both the parties. The scribe also wrote the names of Dullī Dāsa and Parālī Dāsa who apparently did not know how to write their own names. The scribe received a fee of Annas 11½, i. e., one Anna per Rupee of 16 Annas.

An interesting feature of the record is that the names of the Brāhmaṇa witnesses have been written together with their *Mūla-grāmas,* i. e., the villages in which the families of the Brāhmaṇas are alleged to have been originally settled. The same custom is noticed in other parts of India, e. g., in Marāṭhī family-names like Bhāṇḍār-kar, Pūsal-kar, etc., and in South Indian names like Sarvepalli Rādhākṛṣṇan, Mallampalli Somaśekhara S´armā, etc., in which Bhāṇḍār, Pūsal, Sarvepalli and Mallampalli are the *Mūla-grāmas.* The *Gāñis* of the Rāḍhīya and Vārendra Brāhmaṇas of Bengal are also similar *Mūla-grāmas,* though a fiction over their origin has been created by the authors of the *Kulapañjīs* and attempts have been generally made to trace all of them in and about Rāḍha and Varendra.

The document refers to a Brāhmaṇa of the Sakarāḍhī-mūlagrāma as Sakarāḍhī-saṁ so-and-so. *Saṁ* here seems to stand for the Sanskrit word *sambhūta.* In the epigraphic terminology of the early medieval period, the expression would be *Sakarāḍhī-vinirgata.* The *Mūla-grāmas* mentioned in the document are Sodarapura, Sakarāḍhī, Baliyāsa, Bābhaniāma, Gaṅgaulī, Śatalakhā, Phanadaha (now called Phannahavār), Khauyāla and Budhavāla. No satisfactory identification of these places is possible in the present state of our knowledge. It may however be suggested that Śatalakhā is the place of the same name in the Darbhanga District and Baliyāsa is modern Balliyā in the District of that name in U. P. Sakarāḍhī cannot of course have anything to do with Rāḍha in Bengal ; but Gaṅgaulī is no doubt the same as Gāṅgulī, a *Gāñi* of the Sāvarṇa-gotra Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. We are inclined to believe that this *Mūlagrāma* is to be connected with some place outside Bengal and not with the village of

Gāṅgur under the Satgachhia P. S. of the Burdwan District of West Bengal as is usually supposed.[1]

There are some other interesting features of the document. It begins with the expression *Siddhir=astu* which no doubt stands for the auspicious symbol at the beginning of many inscriptions. The symbol read as *Oṁ Siddhiḥ* in the *Kṛṣisaṁgraha* is likewise believed to have developed from the word *siddham* found in a number of earlier inscriptions.[2] It may be suggested that *Oṁ Siddhiḥ* may not have been the only reading of the symbol ; that is to say, it was differently read by different people in different areas. The present document proves that *Siddhir=astu* was also a reading of the symbol in question.

The name of the Mughal emperor has been written at the top of the document marked with a sign called *bheḍvā* in Maithilī. In the body of the document, the same sign has been put in the place where the emperor's name is required. The same custom is noticed in some Bengali documents of the late medival period. It is also observed in Bengal even at the present time, where in invitation cards, e. g., for the Śrāddha ceremony of one's own father, one would write *Gaṅgā* at the top and in the body of the letter only *āmār pitṛdev˚ prāpta haiyāchen* with the mark, called *candrabindu* (corresponding to the Maithilī *bheḍvā* and sometimes read as *īśvara*) in the context requiring the expression *Gaṅgā*.

The passage *Paramabhaṭṭārak-etyādi-rājāvalī-pūrvaka* with which the document introduces the era of Lakṣmaṇasena is again interesting. In early medieval inscriptions, in which the name of the reigning monarch is usually preceded by those of his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, epithets like *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Parameśvara-Mahārājādhirāja* and others were generally applied to all the names. To avoid this lengthy and tedious duplication and re-duplication, copyists of manuscripts, who also referred to the reigning king in the colophon, introduced a sort of abbreviation. We have several manuscripts whose colophon runs *Paramabhaṭṭārak-etyādi-rājāvalī pūrvavat śrīmad-Govindapāladevānāṁ Saṁ*, etc.[1] The Belkhara inscription[2] of a feudatory of the latest Gāhaḍavāla king, e. g., is known to have utilised the same abbreviation. The expression *rājāvalī* of these passages evidently means, by *lakṣaṇā*, 'epithets or titles of the king'. Similarly *rāja-tray-ādhipati* may mean 'the possessor of the three royal titles'.[3]

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[1] See N. N. Vasu, *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihās*, Brāhmaṇa-kāṇḍa, I. p. 124

[2] *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1939, p. 474.

Text

Śrī-Rāmaḥ[4]

V Śrī-Mahammada-sāha[5]

1. Siddhir=astu[6] / Paramabhaṭṭārak-etyādi-rāj-āvalī-pūrvaka-gata-Lakṣmaṇasenadevīya-viṁśaty-adhika-

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[1] R. D. Banerji, *The Pālas of Bengal* (Mem. A. S. B., Vol. V), pp. 110-11. The said Lakṣmaṇasena, who enjoyed imperial titles, is sometimes called Gauḍeśvara and was no doubt the Sena king of that name. See Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 271.

[2] *JPASB*, Vol. VII, p. 763.

[3] Rapson's view in *Woolner Com. Vol.*, pp. 196 f., seems to be wrong. See also Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, s. v. *rāj-avalī*.

[4] This is the *maṅgala* at the top.

[5] This name of the Mughul emperor has to be read in line 3 as indicated by the mark before it as well as at the intended place in line 3.

2. ṣaṭ-śate likhyamāne yatr=āṅken=āpi 620 La-saṁ / punaḥ=paramabhaṭṭārak-āśvapati-gajapati-narapa-
3. ti-rāja-tray-ādhipati-mahāsuratrāṇa-śrī-śrī-śrī-śrī-v-pālite dharaṇi-maṇḍale tat-preṣita-Ku-
4. sumapur-āvasthita-śrī-śrīmat-Phakaraodaolā-khāna-samullasita-mahārāja-śrī-śrīmad-Rā-
5. ghavasiṁhadeva-pālitāyāṁ Mithilāyāṁ Hāṭī-tapp-āntargata-Saurāṣṭragrāma-vāsi-So-
6. darapura-saṁ-śrī-Kamalanayanaśarmā jyotirvit śūdra-krayaṇ-ārthaṁ svadhanaṁ prayuṁkte / dhana-grāhako=
7. py=etat-sakāśāt Saurāṣṭragrāma-vāsī svayam=eva Dullīdāsaḥ Parālīdāsaś=ca / Yathā ke-
8. n=āpi Parālīdāsen=ātmīyena nānā-madhyastha-kṛtā rājataḥ(ta)-s-arddh-aikādaśa-mudrā mū-
9. lyam=āday=āsmin dhanini svayam=eva Dullīdāsaḥ svātmānaṁ vikrītavān /
10. Āmātmya-jātīyaṁ gaura-varṇaṁ tarkita-daśa-varṣa-vayaskaṁ Duliyā-nāmānaṁ svayam=ā-
11. tmānaṁ vikrītavān / yatra vikrīta-prāṇī 1 mūlyaṁ mūdrāḥ 11½ / yadi kv=āpi prapalāyya gaccha-
12. ti tadā rāja-siṁhāsana-talād=apy=ānīya dāsa-karmaṇi niyojanīya iti / atr=arthe
13. sākṣiṇaḥ Sakarāḍhī-saṁ-śrī-Śatañjīvaśarma-Balīyāsa-saṁ-śrī-Gaṇapatimiśra-Sakarāḍhī-
14. saṁ-śrī-Vāsudevajhā-Babhaniāma-saṁ-śrī-Bāndhavajhā-Gaṅgaulī-saṁ-śrī-Kṛpārāma,

15. jhā-Śatalakhā-saṁ-śrī-Rāmajīvaśarma-Phanadaha-saṁ-
mahopādhyāya-śrī-Rucipatimiśra-
16. Khauyāla-saṁ-śrī-Bhīṣaṇaśarma-Budhavāla-saṁ-śrī-
Gonanaśarmāṇaḥ Saurāṣṭra-vāsinaḥ /
17. likhitam = idam = ubhay-ānumatyā s-ārdh-aikādaś-āna-
kān = ādāya Sakarāḍhī-saṁ-śrī-Tārā-
18. patiśarmaṇ = eti śivaṁ(vam) / Caitr-āsita 3 Kuje
Śāke 1651 Sana 1116 Sāla /
19. Sahī Dullī Amātaka / sāḍhe egārah rupaiyā lae
vikaelahu / sahī
20. Parālī / Vahika varṣa-madhya paḍāe taño hame nisāka-
rīa be ujur /

Translation

Śrī-Rāma.

Let there be success !

When it is six hundred and twenty years of the era of the past [rule] of Lakṣmaṇasenadeva enjoying royal epithets beginning with *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* [before his name] ; and [when the date] is in figures La-Sam 620;

When again the earth is being protected by His Imperial Majesty Muḥammad Shāh, the *Mahāsuratrāṇa*, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and the possessor of the three royal titles—'lord of the horses (cavalry)', 'lord of the elephants (elephant force)' and 'lord of the men (infantry)';

When Mithilā is being protected by His Highness *Mahārāja* Rāghavasiṁha, caused to shine excessively by His Excellency Faqr-ud-Daulah Khān, sent by [the emperor] and stationed at Kusumapura (Pāṭnā) ;

Kamalanayanaśarmā, an astronomer belonging to the

Sodarapura-[mūlagrāma] and an inhabitant of the village of Saurāṣṭra in the Hāṭī *Tappā*, invests his own money in the purchase of a person belonging to the Śūdra caste. The money is accepted from him in person by Dullī Dāsa and Parālī Dāsa inhabitants of the village of Saurāṣṭra. Dullī Dāsa himself accepts,through his relative Parālī Dāsa,the amount of Rupees 11½ fixed by several intermediaries and sells his own person to the man whose money he takes. [He] sells his own person—of the Āmātmya caste, of fair complexion, of about 10 years of age and of the name of Duliyā. In this case, the number of person sold is 1; the price is Rs. 11½ . If the slave flees away, he must be dragged out of his shelter even from below the king's throne and must be engaged in the duties of a slave.

In this matter, the witnesses are the [following] inhabitants of Saurāṣṭra—śrī-Śatañjīvaśarman of the Sakarāḍhī-[mūlagrāma], śrī-Gaṇapatimiśra of the Baliyāsa-[mūlagrāma], śrī-Vāsudeva-jhā of the Sakarāḍhī-[mūlagrāma], śrī-Bāndhava-jhā of the Babhaniāma-[mūlagrāma], śrī-Kṛpārāma-jhā of the Gaṅgaulī-[mūlagrāma], śrī-Rāmajīvaśarman of the Śatalakhā-[mūlagrāma], *Mahopādhyāya* śrī-Rucipati-miśra of the Phanadaha-[mulagrāma], śrī-Bhīṣaṇaśarman of the Khauyāla-[mūlagrāma] and śrī-Gonana-śarman of the Budhavāla-[mūlagrāma].

[The document] is written with the permission of both the parties by śrī-Tārāpati-śarman of the Sakarāḍhī-[mūlagrāma], who received a fee of Annas 11½ .

[The date is] Tuesday, the 3rd day of Caitra in the Śaka year 1651, the San (Faslī) year 1136.

Agreed by Dullī Amātaka—"I sell myself at Rupees eleven and a half."

Agreed by Parālī—"In case the slave flees away within a year, I shall offer myself as responsible without fail."

Chapter XIII

SOME GREAT WOMEN

i

For surveying the activities of Indian women who became famous in the fields of politics and administration as also those who became celebrated for their literary talent and scholarship, we have selected the northern part of the Indian subcontinent as the area, the period being confined between the fourth century B. C. and the twelfth century A. D. The survey is primarily concerned with two aspects, one relating to women administrators and officers and the other with women poets and scholars. Unfortunately the data at our disposal for the study of the subject are scanty. It is therefore not possible to draw a complete picture of the achievements of Indian women in the present state of our knowledge even within the limited scope indicated above.

ii

Strī-rājya, 'the Women's Kingdom', is often mentioned in Indian literature. The *Jaiminibhārata* (Ch. 22) speaks of Pramīlā, queen of the land of the Amazons, who fought with the Pāṇḍava hero Arjuna. Although Pramīlā is no doubt a mythical figure, the existence of Strī-rājyas in ancient India was not merely a flight of fancy, as it seems to be supported by works such as the *Si-yu-ki* of the seventh century Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang. According to this work, to the north of the Brahmapura country in the present Kumaun-Garhwal region in the Himalayas, "was the Suvarṇagotra country……" "This was 'the Eastern Women's Country' so called because it was ruled by a succession of women." "The husband of the queen was king; but he did not administer the government. The men attended only to the suppression of revolts and the cultivation of the fields."[1] The statement of the Chinese pilgrim seems to be supported by the account of the Nu-wang tribe of Tibet said to have been ruled by a woman who was called Pin-chin.[2] Hiuen-tsang also mentions another Strī-rājya called by him 'the Western Women's Country' near Lāṅgala in the present Baluchistan region.[3] The same country seems to be located in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[4] in the north-western part of Bhāratavarṣa. Unfortunately nothing precise is known about the administrative and political activities of the women of the two Strī-rājyas of ancient Bhāratavarṣa, although it is fairly certain that at least some of them exercised considerable power in the above fields.

Slightly better but almost similar are the cases of some other female administrators of ancient India. It is well known that the Maukhari king Grahavarman of U. P. and Bihar, who flourished about the beginning of the seventh century A. D., was killed and that his kingdom was overrun by the armies of the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka and the Mālava king Devagupta. Sometime after 606 A. D. Harṣavardhana, who was the king of Thanesar and the brother of Grahavarman's queen Rājyaśrī, succeeded in freeing the Maukhari dominions from enemies and in annexing U. P. and Bihar to his own kingdom. Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* represents Rājyaśrī as an intelligent and accomplished lady, while we learn from the Chinese work entitled *Fang-chih* that Harṣavardhana administered 'the government in conjunction with his widowed sister.' [1] Unfortunately no definite information is available in regard to the actual part played by Rājyaśrī in Harṣavardhana's administration.

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[1] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 330; Sircar, *Cosm. Geog. E. Ind. Lit.*, pp. 66, 152, notes.

[2] Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, s. v.

[3] Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 257.

[4] XIV. 22.

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* or the chronicle of Kashmir composed by Kalhaṇa about the middle of the 12th century A. D., gives, as we shall see below, a brilliant account of one of the ruling queens of early Indian history. This work shows that the women in ancient Kashmir enjoyed considerable freedoom. They often not only owned immovable property and managed their own estates, but sometimes even fought at the head of their troops. It is well known to the students of the ancient history of Kashmir that the Ḍāmaras or the landed artistocracy played an important part in Kashmirian politics. But the reference to a Ḍāmarī, i. e. a female Ḍāmara, in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (VIII. 3115) is really very interesting for the subject of our study. The same section of the Kashmir chronicle (verses 1136-37) speaks of a valiant lady named Chuḍḍā who 'triumphed over the malcontents with her own and the royal forces.' A leader of the enemy forces, 'having made a surprise attack on her, killed her in battle.' Similar heroic activities of another lady named Sillā, mother of Vijaya who was a lieutenant of the Kashmirian king Sussala (1112-28 A. D.), are referred to in verse 1069 of the above section. During the civil war between Sussala and Bhikṣācara, the king was on one occasion marching with his army from Vijayeśvara to Śrīnagara. Soon after the king passed the bridge on the Vitastā with the van of the army, the bridge gave way and a considerably large body of soldiers was left behind on the other bank of the river. These abandoned troops were conducted by Sillā from Vijayeśvara to Devasaras where however she was defeated and killed and the royal troops led by her were dispersed. Devasaras seems to have been the fief of Sillā herself or her son Vijaya's. Unfortunately the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* refers to such facts incidentally and does not supply us with details of the lives of these valiant women.

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[1] Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 35; *Harṣacarita*, ed. Parab, p. 140.

It will thus be seen that our knowledge in regard to the activities of ancient Indian women in the fields of politics and administration is extremely meagre in many of the cases. In spite, however,of this defect in our knowledge of the subject, it is certainly worthwhile to draw the attention of students to some of them who must have played important parts in the history of the country. In the following lines we propose to sketch the careers of some of the ruling queens of ancient India within the limits of the scope of our subject indicated above.

iii

In 330 B. C., Alexander, the Yavana or Greek king of Macedon, subdued the Achaemedid empire of Persia. Some time after his death, one of his generals, named Seleucus Nicator became master of Western Asia. The province of Bactria, with its capital at modern Balkh (ancient Bālhīka), was governed by a Greek viceroy of the Seleucid emperors; but, about the middle of the third century B. C., the Bactrian Greeks threw off the Seleucid yoke and, about the beginning of the second century B. C., established their power over the

Uttarāpatha or Udīcya (beyond the Eastern Punjab) and Aparānta (to the west of Malwa) divisions of ancient Bhāratavarṣa. These Indo-Bactrian Greeks, called Yavana by the Indians, gradually became absorbed in the Indian social system. The author of the *Mahābhāṣya* regards them as *aniravasita* (pure) Śūdra, while the *Manusmṛti* speaks of of them as degraded Kṣatriya, the social position indicated by both the expressions being the same, as we have already seen.[1]

The history of the Yavanas in India is obscure. Most of the Yavana rulers are only known merely by their names found on their coins. Certain coins exhibit the names of an interesting group of Yavana rulers. Some of them were issued by a queen named Agathocleia jointly with a king of junior rank called Strato (I). Scholars have suggested that these coins were struck when the queen was ruling over the Punjab region as regent during the minority of Strato who was probably her son. Strato, enjoying the title Soter, afterwards ruled alone and issued coins with his own name only; but at the fag end of his long life he is found associated on some coins with another ruler of inferior rank, called Strato Philopater who was his son's son. It has been suggested on the basis of the similarity of names and coin-types that queen Agathocleia was the sister or daughter of the Indo-Greek king Agathocles, known from his coins, and the wife of Menander, famous in Buddhist tradition as the Yavana king Milinda or Milindra of Sākala (modern Sialkot in the Punjab). Nothing however is known about the achievements of the Yavana queen Agathocleia of the Punjab, who seems to have flourished about the beginning of the first century B. C. [2]

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1. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. Majumdar, pp. 116-17 ; above, pp. 48, 124.
2. Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 113-14. It has been also suggested that Agathocleia was the queen of Strato. I

iv

Prabhāvatiguptā was the daughter of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II Vikramāditya (376-413 A. D.) of Northern India and the *agra-mahiṣī* or chief queen of king Rudrasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty ruling over wide regions of the Deccan.

Rudrasena II seems to have died before the close of the fourth century A. D. He probably left three sons, viz. Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena. Divākarasena remained the *Yuvarāja* or crown-prince while his mother ruled the country at least for about thirteen years. It is usually believed that the sons of Rudrasena II were minors at the time of their father's death and that Prabhāvatiguptā ruled the kingdom as regent on behalf of the minor *Yuvarāja* Divākarasena. But there is reason to believe that the above suggestion is unwarranted. In the first place, there are numerous instances in ancient Indian history of minors ascending their ancestral throne, so that minority never stood in anybody's way to the status of king. Secondly, Divākarasena, who had two younger co-uterine brothers, must have been at least five years of age at the time of his father's death and thus more than sixteen years of age during the thirteenth year, *i. e.* the latest known year, of his mother's rule. As, in ancient India, people became major at the age of sixteen, Divākarasena seems to have already attained majority before the last known date of his mother's reign. Thus the rule of Prabhāvatiguptā over the Vākāṭaka kingdom was very probably due to her love of power or some unknown reason that may have prevented Divākarasena from occupying the throne as in the case of the

Pallava *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugopavarman. It is unknown if Prabhāvatiguptā's elder sons predeceased their father or if her elder children were all daughters.[1]

A copper-plate grant[2] of Prabhāvatiguptā, discovered at Poona, is dated in the thirteenth year of her own rule as is indicated by the seal of the charter. The grant was issued by the queen, who calls herself 'mother of *Yuvarāja* Divākarasena', from Nāndīvardhana which appears to have been the capital of the Vākāṭakas at least from the time of Rudrasena I if not from an earlier date. The place has been identified by some writers with modern Nagardhan, or Nandardhan near Ramtek, about thirteen miles to the north of Nagardhan. The village granted by the charter was Uṅguṇagrāma (probably modern Hinganghat) in the district called Supratiṣṭh-āhāra which has been identified with the Hinganghat Tahsil of the Wardha District of Maharashtra.

There is as yet no evidence to show that Divākarasena ever ascended his paternal throne as *Mahārāja*. In a later inscription of Prabhāvatiguptā, dated in the nineteenth regnal year of her son Pravarasena II, she is called 'mother of the illustrious *Mahārājas* Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena.'[3] As Prabhāvatī was more than one hundred years old when the charter was issued, *Mahārāja* Dāmodarasena appears to have enjoyed a long reign between her own rule in the earlier part of her life and the accession of Pravarasena II during its later part. Prabhāvatī was still living in the twentythird year of the reign of Pravarasena II as we know from the latter's Tirodi plates.[4] Prabhāvatī's death does not appear to have taken

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1. *The Classical Age*, ed. Majumdar, pp. 180-81.
2. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 411 ff.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 415 ff.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 167 ff.

place long before 455 A.D. which is the date of the death of her brother Kumāragupta I.

The second charter of Prabhāvatiguptā was issued from the feet of the god Rāmagirisvāmin, identified with the deity at Ramtek near Nagpur, probably on the occasion of her visit to the holy temple on pilgrimage. In both her records, she is described as a devotee of the Bhagavat, i.e. Viṣṇu, and is credited with the *gotra* (viz. Dhāraṇa) and the family designation (i.e. Guptā) of her father. Her husband is known to have belonged to the Viṣṇuvṛddha *gotra*. Thus Prabhāvatī's marriage did not apparently involve the usual *gotrāntara*. There is evidence to show that *gotrāntra* was not essential in the popular forms of ancient Indian marriage apparently due to the want of *sampradāna*.[1]

There is a tradition in the *sthala-māhātmya* of the Śrīśaila hill (Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh) according to which princess Candrāvatī, daughter of Candragupta, conceived a passion for the god Mallikārjuna (Śiva) on the Śrīśaila and daily offered to him a garland of jasmine flowers. Many scholars are inclined to identify princess Candrāvatī of the legend with Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of Candragupta II and wife of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II of the Deccan. Whatever however be the historical value of the tradition, which is doubtful in our opinion, the identification is clearly untenable in view of the fact that Prabhāvatī claims to have been a staunch Vaiṣṇava while the traditional Candrāvatī was a devotee of Śiva. There is moreover no evidence to show that the Kurnool District formed any part of the dominions of the Vākāṭaka house to which Prabhāvatī's husband belonged.[2]

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[1] *Proc. I. H. C.*, 1945, pp. 48ff. ; above, pp. 204ff.

[2] Cf. *The Classical Age*, p. 179, note 2.

V

In ancient India wives of kings did not usually succeed to their husbands' throne. Neither was the succession of daughters of the dead kings natural. When a king died without leaving any male issue, often his chief queen adopted a boy as her son who was then raised to the throne. Sometimes a dead king's throne passed to his brother's son or rarely even to a distant relation. The history of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of ancient Orissa, however, tells a different tale. Although adoption does not appear to have been entirely unknown in the family, it is really strange that no less than six queens are found to have adorned the Bhauma-Kara throne on different occasions, Five of them were the wives of kings and one the daughter of a king and a ruling queen. This fact shows beyond doubt that the people of ancient Orissa had no reason to view the reign of female rulers with disfavour. It is interesting to note that, according to an inscription, the reign of an earlier queen of Orissa, named Gosvāminī, was remembered by the Bhauma-Kara subjects apparently with approval and admiration. The records of this family are usually dated in an era which is now known to have started from 831 A.D. The dominions of the Bhauma-Karas comprised parts of the Midnapur District of West Bengal in the north-east and of the Ganjam District of Orissa in the south-west. The northern limit of their kingdom cannot be determined with precision; but the Yamagartā-maṇḍala, possibly in the present Talcher-Bonai region, was included in it. The capital of the Bhauma-Karas was at Virajas or Guheśvara-pāṭaka, both of which appear to be old names of modern Jājpur on the river Vaitaraṇī in the Cuttack District of Orissa.[1]

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[1] See *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 148 ff. ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 81ff.

vi

The inscriptions[1] of the Bhauma-Kara king S´ubhākara III *alias* Kusumahāra (or °bhāra) I *alias* Siṁhaketu (or °dhvaja), dated year 103 (934 A.D.), represent him as the son of king S´āntikara I *alias* Gayāḍa I *alias* Lalitahāra (or °bhāra) I from queen Tribhuvana-mahādevī. In these records the queen is described as born in the Nāgodbhava family possibly indicating one of the Nāga royal families. The Dhenkanal plate, [2] bearing the date that may be read as the year 120 (951 A.D.), was issued by Tribhuvana-mahādevī when she was ruling the Bhauma-Kara kingdom. According to this record, she was the queen of the Bhauma-Kara king Lalitahāra and the daughter of Rājamalla who was an ornament of the southern territory. Rājamalla, the ruler of a southern country, has not been satisfactorily identified ; but from the fact that, in this record, Tribhuvana-mahādevī is also called Sindagaurī, he may be regarded as a ruler belonging to the Sinda-Nāga family of Karṇāṭaka origin. It is further said that Tribhuvana-mahādevī was entreated by the circle of feudatories to assume the reins of government by citing the old instance of queen Gosvāminī. This no doubt refers to a period when there was no male member of the Bhauma-Kara family to run the administration of the kingdom. The situation seems to be explained by the Talcher plate[3] (year 145=976 A.D.) of S´ubhākara IV *alias* Kusumahāra (or °bhāra), grandson of S´ubhākara III mentioned above. According to the Talcher plate, after the death of Kusumahāra, his mother Tribhuvana-mahādevī became the ruler of the kingdom, but abdicated in favour of her grandson Loṇabhāra (Lavaṇabhāra) *alias* Śāntikara (II *alias* Gayāḍa II) when the latter was grown up enough to bear the burden of government. The above inscriptions have been taken to indicate that, after the death of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākara III, his mother Tribhuvana-mahādevī ruled the kingdom for some years during the minority of her son's son. But, as we have already pointed out, there was no convention in ancient India preventing a minor prince from ascending his father's throne. What could then be the circumstances leading to the accession of Tribhuvana-mahādevī on the Bhauma-Kara throne in preference to her minor grandson ? The answer to this question is furnished by the newly discovered grants[1] of Tribhuvana-mahādevī II. These records say that Kusumahāra (Śubhākara III) died without leaving any male issue and that his mother Gosvāminī had assumed the reins of government after his death, although she abdicated later in favour of her grandson Loṇabhāra. This shows that Loṇabhāra was actually adopted as a son by the queen of Śubhākara III Kusumahāra sometime after the latter's death. Therefore the absence of any male heir of Śubhākara III gave his mother the opportunity to raise herself to the Bhauma-Kara throne. The inscriptions also suggest that Tribhuvana-mahādevī I assumed the name of Gosvāminī after the illustrious queen of ancient Orissa bearing that name. The queen was a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu, although the Bhauma-Karas were originally Buddhists.

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[1] B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 12ff.

[2] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 23ff.

[3] Cf. *ibid.*. pp. 32ff.

Queen Pṛthvī-mahādevī *alias* Tribhuvana-mahādevī II, who issued her charters in the year 158 (989 A. D.), ascended the Bhauma-Kara throne with the assistance of her father, the Somavaṁśī monarch Svabhāvatuṅga *alias* Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I, whose grant of a village in the Bhauma-Kara kingdom may be connected with one of his victorious campaigns against his daughter's rivals for the throne.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 210ff.

The grants of Tribhuvana-mahādevī II were made at the request of Śaśilekhā described as born in the Virāṭa family, as augmenting the glory of the Vrāgaḍi family and as the wife of *Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati* Maṅgalakalaśa who must have been a feudatory of the Bhauma-Kara queen. Names ending in the word *kalaśa* are known to have become popular with the Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala from the days of Neṭṭabhañja I Kalyāṇakalaśa who flourished about the close of the tenth century and there was actually one Maṅgalarāja (Maṅgalakalaśa ?) among the successors of that ruler. But it is difficult to identify the husband of Śaśiletkhā with any amount of certainty in the present state of our knowledge. From her epithets referred to above, it seems that she herself was born in the Virāṭa family. Rulers of a Virāṭa family are assigned by tradition to the Mayurbhanj region of Orissa.

It is said that Śaśilekhā's father was Nānna, on whose death she established the god Umāmaheśvara in the temple of Nānneśvara built by herself. The god Nānneśvara was no doubt named after the dead father of Śaśilekhā in accordance with a popular custom of ancient India and he appears to be the same as Umāmaheśvara mentioned separately. As the name suggests, Umāmaheśvara was Śiva together with Umā ; but it is also possible to think that the name was applied to a *śiva-liṅja*. The two pieces of gift land are described as situated in Tamālakhaṇḍa-viṣaya forming a part of Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala of Uttara-Tosalī. It appears that the two pieces of gift land were lying near the Nānneśvara temple built by Śaśilekhā. As the temple may have been built in the territory under her husband who was the ruler of a *maṇḍala*, it is possible to think that Maṅgalakalaśa was the governor of the Daṇḍabhukti *maṇḍala*. Daṇḍabhukti comprised parts of the Danton region of the Midnapur District, while Uttara-Tosalī comprised the present Balasore District together with parts of Cuttack and Midnapur. The Nānneśvara temple referred to in the inscriptions thus appears to have stood on the south-western fringe of Bengal.

According to the details of the grants, the two pieces of gift land were both divided into four shares, the first being reserved for expenses connected with the worship of the god Umāmaheśvara, repairs to the temple and maintenance of the Pāśupata ascetics associated with it. The second share was reserved for the maintenance of the Brāhmaṇas, apparently those employed to conduct the priestly services of the god, and the third for the temple servants. What is important is that queen Tribhuvana-mahādevī II, who was a staunch Vaiṣṇava, made the above grants in favour of a Śaiva religious establishment. Of course such instances of religious toleration are quite common in the records of ancient Indian rulers.

viii

After the death of king Śubhākara V, the Bhauma-Kara throne was occupied by no less than four queens successively. They are also the latest known rulers of the family. It is really difficult to understand why none of the queens adopted a son. The first of the four ruling queens referred to above was Gaurī-mahādevī, wife of Śubhākara V, the last known male member of the Bhauma-Kara family. No record of the time of Gaurī-mahādevī has as yet been discovered. She was succeeded on the Bhauma-Kara throne by her daughter Daṇḍi mahādevī.

Several copper-plate grants[1] of *Paramabhaṭṭārikā Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvarī* Daṇḍi-mahādevī, who was a devout worshipper of S'iva, have been discovered. The inscriptions of this queen record grants of land in Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī (roughly the present Puri District together with the major parts of Cuttack and Ganjam) and especially in that part of the tract which was known as Koṅgoda-maṇḍala. The district of Koṅgoda lay in the valley of the river Sālimā (modern Sāliyā) about the borders between the present Puri and Ganjam Districts.

The records of Daṇḍi-mahādevī are known to be dated in the years 180 (1011 A. D.) and 187 (1018 A. D.). She therefore ruled at least for about eight years. One of these records mentions her feudatory, *Rāṇaka* Apsarodeva, ruler of the Yamagartā-maṇḍala, who is said to have requested the queen to make a grant in favour of a Brāhmaṇa on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Not much is known of the events of queen Daṇḍi-mahādevī's reign and her political and other activities.

ix

Daṇḍi-mahādevī was succeeded by her step mother Vakula-mahādevī who was born in the Bhañja family. A charter issued by her in the year 204 (1035 A.D.) has been recently published.[2] In records the grant of a village in Uttara-Tosalā.

Queen Vakula-mahādevī was succeeded on the Bhauma-

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 79ff. ; Mis.a, *op. cit.*, pp. 57ff.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 307 ff.

Kara throne by Dharma-mahādevī who was the wife of her husband's elder brother. We have two copper-plate grants[1] issued by Queen Dharma-mahādevī. Unfortunately they do not bear any date in the era used by the Bhauma-Karas. Thus little is known about the duration of her rule. She is the last known ruler of the Bhauma-Kara family.

The Taltali copper-plate grant of Dharma-mahādevī represents the queen as the wife of the Bhauma-Kara king Lavaṇabhāra who was no other than S'āntikara III.

X

In the history of Kashmir, the period of about half a century between 958 and 1003 A.D. was dominated by the personality of Queen Diddā.[2] This is the only instance in the history of ancient India, wherein we have some details of the activities of a female ruler. Diddā was the daughter of Siṁharāja, king of Lohara, and the granddaughter of the S'āhī king Bhīma or Bhīmapāla of Udabhāṇḍapura. She was married to the Kashmirian king Kṣemagupta (950-58 A.D.). According to Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Diddā had so great an influence on her husband that the latter 'became known by the humiliating appellation *Diddā-Kṣema*. Kalhaṇa's statement is no doubt supported by the copper coins of Kṣemagupta, which bear the legend *Di-Kṣema*, apparently a contraction of the above name. It is interesting to note that while the coins of the above type are quite common, those bearing the name of Kṣemagupta alone are rare. This certainly points to the prominent position held by Diddā in the administration of the Kashmir kingdom during her husband's rule.[1]

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[1] Misra, *op.cit.*, pp. 59ff.; *IHQ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 287ff.

[2] Cf. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I; pp. 130 ff.

After the death of Kṣemagupta in 958 A.D., his son Abhimanyu was raised to the throne under the guardianship of the widowed queen-mother. During Abhimanyu's rule, Diddā caused the downfall of the powerful *Sarvādhikāra* (prime minister) Phalguna who had incurred her displeasure by giving his daughter to Kṣemagupta. Phalguna, the conqueror of Rājapurī, was compelled to retire to Parṇotsa (modern Punch). The queen next found the powerful nobles Mahiman and Pāṭala conspiring for the throne of Kashmir. In spite of the great influence they wielded, Diddā turned them out of the royal palace and, when they rose in revolt, quickly bought off their Brāhmaṇa supporters. One of the bribed Brāhmaṇas, named Yaśodhara, was now made commander-in-chief of the Kashmirian forces. But when Yaśodhara displayed energy in defeating the Śāhī king Thakkana, Diddā grew suspicious of his power and accused him of accepting money for keeping the Śāhī on his throne. When an attempt was made to banish Yaśodhara on this charge, his supporters raised a rebellion and succeeded in besieging Diddā in her palace. But Diddā crushed the rebellion with the help of the minister Naravāhana and the valiant forces known in Kashmir history as the Ekāṅgas. Kalhaṇa is eloquent on Diddā's achievement when he says, "Those treacherous ministers who during sixty years from the Laukika year 3977 (901-02 A.D.) onward had robbed sixteen kings, from king Gopāla to Abhimanyu, of their dignity, lives and riches were quickly exterminated by the energy of Queen Diddā."[1] The grateful queen now made Naravāhana her chief councillor with the title *Rājānaka*. But soon the treasurer Sindhu led her to believe that Naravāhana was trying to usurp royal power. The minister then fell from Diddā's grace and had ultimately to save himself by committing suicide. Soon afterwards, an attempt to kill the sons of the *Ḍāmara* (landlord) Saṅgrāma involved Diddā in a rebellion of the landed aristocracy. Unable to cope with the troubles, she now invited Phalguna to her side. About this time, Diddā's son, king Abhimanyu, died in 972 A.D. and was succeeded by his young son Nandigupta.

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[1] For an interesting note on coins bearing the names of Indian queens including that of Diddā, see *J N S I*, Vol. VII, pp. 69 ff.

The death of Abhimanyu was a great shock to Diddā who for about a year remained engaged in building temples, *maṭhas* (monasteries) and cities for acquiring religious merit. Among the more important of these works were the temples of Viṣṇu Diddāsvāmin, the cities of Diddāpura and Kaṅkaṇapura and a number of *vihāras* and *maṭhas* for the accommodation of foreigners. The Diddā-maṭha, founded by the queen regent, has left its memory in the name of Didmar in the western end of Srinagar on the right bank of the Vitastā.

There was however a fatal weakness in Diddā's character and this is partially indicated by the fact that her courage failed before the funeral pyre of her dead husband. According to Kalhaṇa, she felt no scruples against inviting officers to her bed-chamber.[2] This weakness of her character coupled with an inordinate desire for power, soon led to a violent reaction and she killed her little grandson Nandigupta by employing witchcraft in 973 A.D. Tribhuvana (973-75 A.D.) and Bhīmagupta (975-81 A.D.), young brothers of Nandigupta, who were raised to the throne by Diddā, were

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1. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VI. 256-58.
2. *Ibid.*, verses 315 ff. (cf. verse 321).

also similarly killed and Diddā herself ascended the throne of Kashmir in 981 A.D.

A great favourite of queen Diddā was a young Khasa from Parṇotsa, named Tuṅga, who was originally a herdsman of buffaloes and later obtained the post of a letter-carrier in the Foreign Office. By Diddā's grace, this Tuṅga was soon made the *Sarvādhikārin* (chief minister) of Kashmir. The other ministers raised a rebellion under the guidance of prince Vigraharāja who was the son of Diddā's brother, Udayarāja of Lohara. Vigraharāja induced the influencial Brāhmaṇas of the kingdom to enter upon a solemn fast. But the queen bought off the Brāhmaṇas by a judicious distribution of gold amongst them. Vigraharāja was then utterly defeated by the Kashmir forces under the leadership of Tuṅga. This general, helped by one of his brothers, next subdued Pṛthvīpāla, the rebellious feudatory ruler of Rājapurī, and forced the latter to pay tribute. Tuṅga, who was now made commander-in-chief, is also credited with the crushing of a formidable rising of the Ḍāmaras about the close of Diddā's reign.

Diddā died in 1003 A.D.; but, before her death, she selected her brother's son, Saṅgrāmarāja of Lohara, as her heir to the throne of Kashmir. This was undoubtedly an act of great statesmanship, as it secured a change of dynasty without any political upheaval. Scholars have rightly concluded that, in spite of the defects in Diddā's character, she was certainly endowed with energy and statesmanship of a very high order.

A few centuries later, another lady named Koṭādevī adorned the throne of Kashmir for a short time about 1338 A.D. [1]

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[1] Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 158, 179-80.

Besides the ruling queens, whose history has been discussed above, there are also some others of the same kind, known to the students of Indian history and tradition.

In the course of his Indian expedition, Alexander the Great of Macedon is said to have defeated and killed in 327 B.C. a king of the modern Swat-Buner region in the former North-West Frontier Province, whose name is given by the early European writers as Assakenos (Aśvaka or Aśmaka, indicating the tribe to which the king belonged). This king had his capital at the formidable fortress of Massaga situated not very far to the north of the Malakand Pass. According to Curtius, after the death of Assakenos, his mother (possibly, wife) Kleophis (probably Kṛpī) 'ruled the city and the realm' and defended herself against the invader for sometime. But queen Kleophis is said to have been compelled to surrender to the Greek king. The same authority says that she afterwards gave birth to a son who received the name of Alexander. Nothing is known about the position of the queen after the conquest of her kingdom by the Greek invaders.[1]

In 712 A.D., the Arab general Muḥammad ibn Qāsim defeated Dāhir (possibly Dadhirāja), king of Sind with his capital at modern Rohri on the Indus, who was killed on the battle-field of Rāwar after having put forth a valiant fight against the Arab invaders. Dāhir's queen Rāṇī Bāī (sometimes called Lādī or Māīn) was then besieged by the Arabs in the fortress of Rāwar. The heroic queen vigorously continued the struggle with only fifteen thousand soldiers in the fort. But the Arabs conducted the siege with great intrepidity. At last the queen lost all hopes of defending herself. According to the *Cacnāma*, she then assembled the women in the fort and addressed them in the following words : "God forbid that we should owe our liberty to those outcaste cow-eaters. Our honour would be lost. Our respite is at the end, and there is nowhere any hope of escape. Let us collect wood, cotton and oil ; for I think we should burn ourselves and go to meet our husbands. If any wish to save herself, she may." The queen and the ladies then entered into a house where they burnt themselves to vindicate their honour.[1]

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[1] Smith, *Early History of India*, 1924, p. 58 and note.

The annals of Rajasthan speak of many valiant queens ; but they flourished later than the period with which we are concerned. Some of the traditions are moreover of doubtful authenticity. According to the *Pṛthvīrājarāso* of Cand Bardāī king Samarasiṁha of Citoḍa (capital of Mevāḍa) married Pṛthā, sister of the Cāhamāna (Cauhān) king Pṛthvīrāja III (c. 1178-92 A.D.) of Delhi and Ajmer, and sided with the Cauhān king in the second battle of Tiraurī or Tarāin in 1192 A.D. against Muizuddīn Muḥammad bin Sām (Muḥammad Ghūrī), in which both Pṛthvīrāja and Samarasiṁha lost their lives. On Samarasiṁha's death, his minor son Karṇa is said to have been raised to the throne of Citoḍa and, during his minority, his mother Karmadevi, a princess of Pāṭan (i.e. of the Caulukya or Solaṅkī house of Anahilapaṭṭana or Anhilavāḍā in Gujarat) is said to have governed the kingdom of Mevāḍa. According to Tod, "She headed her Rājpūts and gave battle to Qutbuddīn near Ambar, when the viceroy was defeated and wounded. Nine Rājās and eleven chiefs of inferior dignity with the title *Rāvat* followed the mother of their prince."[1] Modern writers on Rajput history however regard most of these traditions as unhistorical.

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[1] Cf. Ishwari Prasad, *History of Medieval India*, 1945, pp. 58-59.

xii

There is evidence to show that, in ancient India girls, at least of noble families,often received liberal education,although according to the later writers women were ineligible for wearing the sacred thread and studying the Vedas.[2] The works of Manu (IX. 11) and Vātsyāyana (III. i. 31, 46-47, 52) suggest that the husband usually appointed the wife to receive and spend money, to keep accounts and to pay the servants' wages. Such duties no doubt required some amount of education on the part of women. This fact will be sufficiently clear from our account of women who became famous in literary activities and learned pursuits. But that some women were endowed with even the technical knowledge of drafting and dealing with documents such as royal charters and deeds of gift is definitely indicated by epigraphic evidence. It is well known to the students of the Smṛti literature that the drafting of royal documents was usually entrusted to the senior ministers of a king. But women were not barred even from this important field of activity.[3]

The dominions of the mighty S'ātavāhana king Gautamī-putra S'ātakarṇi are known to have comprised wide regions of Western and Southern India from the river Krishna in the south to Malwa in the north. This king flourished about 106-30 A. D. A charter[4] dated in the twentyfourth regnal year of

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[1] Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*: Calcutta ed,, Vol. I, p. 270.

[2] Cf. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, pp. 294-96.

[3] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 194, text line 6.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 193 ff.

Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, copied in one of the rock-cut caves at Nasik in Maharashtra, seems to suggest that the king was then ill and that the reins of government were temporarily assumed by his mother Gautamī Balaśrī. The document records an order from the king and the queen-mother addressed to the governor of the Nasik area in respect of the grant of a piece of land in favour of certain Buddhist monks residing in the Nasik caves. It seems that the grant was actually made by the queen-mother, then in power, in the name of her son who was ill. But a more interesting fact in this connection is that the deed of gift was drafted by a female official named Loṭā who was a *Pratihāra-rakṣī*, i. e. the chief official in charge of the palace-guards and the palace-gate. Nothing is known about Loṭā's origin.

In the documents of some of the ancient Indian rulers, reference is often made to the officials who were responsible for registering the particular deeds by stamping them with the royal seal. The job of these officials was no doubt an important one as it involved the responsiblity of being the custodian of the royal seal and examining the genuineness of the documents. This responsible work was also sometimes entrusted to female officials. Some grants of Neṭṭabhañja I Kalyāṇakalaśa, the Bhañja king of Vañjulvaka in the present Ganjam region, are known to have been registered with the royal seal by the female officials Māmmā, Vācchikā and Jacchikā.[1]

We know of several cases in which the custodian of the royal seal was a queen of the reigning monarch. Two grants of Vidyādharabhañja Amoghakalaśa, who was a grandson of Neṭṭabhañja II Kalyāṇakalaśa, was similarly registered by his own queen Jaya-mahādevī. Another charter of the same family of the Bhañjas, issued by king Neṭṭabhañja III

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 335.

Tribhuvanakalaśa, is known to have been registered by the queen Jīvaloka-mahādevī.[1]

The custom of making the queen the custodian of the royal seal was not confined to the Bhañja kings of Vañjulvaka. It is also found in the family of the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka, who ruled over a territory in the present Ganjam-Srikakulam (Chicacole) region. A grant of king Pṛthvīvarman of this dynasty was registered by his *Mahādevī* or queen whose personal name is unknown, while a charter of king Anantavarman was similarly registered by his queen Śrīvāsa-bhaṭṭārikā. Another charter of the same family, issued by Jayavarman, was registered by his queen Trikaliṅga-mahādevī.[2]

xiii

It is well known that some Ṛgvedic hymns were composed by women, while the Upaniṣadic literature speaks of ladies who were well-versed in philosophy. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (VI. iv. 17) prescribes a special ritual by which one might have a *Paṇḍitā* or learned daughter born to him. Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* (I. iii), though it does not indicate a high standard of female education, no doubt provides for the training of girls in the art of poetry among other things. But, in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, the celebrated author Rājaśekhara (c. 890-940 A. D.) says, "Women also can be poets like men. Genius is inherent in persons irrespective of sex differences between men and women. It is heard and seen that princesses, daughters of ministers, courtesans and concubines are possessed of extensive knowledge of the Śāstras and poetic genius."[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 335-36.
[2] *Ibid.*, 336.

It is clear from this statement that numerous poetesses flourished in different parts of India in and before the ninth and tenth centuries A. D. Unfortunately, most of their works are lost, although specimens of the poems of some of them are found quoted by later writers, especially the compilers of anthologies of poems in Sanskrit and Prakrit. Another difficulty is that in many cases we know merely the name of a poetess and have no precise information in regard to her career, achievements, date and place of birth. It is often impossible to determine whether a particular poetess falls within the scope of our enquiry as indicated above. Under the circumstances, it is only possible for us to offer a brief and tentative account of the achievements of ancient Indian women in the field of literature. It will be seen that our position in regard to this subject is even worse than that in respect of women administrators discussed above.

Considering the scope of our subject, we may omit not only poetesses of the Vedic hymns but also the Buddhist nuns who were responsible for the composition of the beautiful poems of the *Therīgāthā* or 'the Songs of the Lady Elders', although many of these songs must have been composed after 400 B. C. Candrakāntā Bhikṣuṇī who composed the *Avalokiteśvarastotra* certainly flourished in the period under review.[2]

xiv

The *Sattasaī*, usually called *Gāthā Saptaśatī*, is a Prakrit anthology attributed to Hāla. The name *Hāla* is no doubt an *ekadeśa* of *Hālavāhana*, the same as *S'ātavāhana* or *S'ālivāhana* of epigraphy and literature. The original compiler of the *Sattasaī* was probably a king of the S'ātavāhana family that flourished at Pratiṣṭhāna (modern Paithan on the Godavari in the Aurangabad District of Maharashtra) between the first century B. C. and the third century A. D. Hāla appears to have ruled in the first century A. D., though his exact date cannot be ascertained. The anthology contains seven hundred stanzas; but only about 450 are common to the different versions of the work. This shows that the *Sattasaī* contains a large amount of interpolation of a later date. The use of words like *horā* and *aṅgāraka-vāra* exhibiting knowledge of Greek astronomy and the reference to a developed Rādhā -Kṛṣṇa mythology indicate that at least some of the stanzas of the *Sattasaī* are not much earlier than the fifth, sixth or seventh century A. D. Hāla's *Sattasaī* was certainly known to Bāṇa at the beginning of the seventh century, although the possibility of later interpolations is not precluded thereby. But it may be said that the authors quoted in the *Sattasaī* are not later than the seventh or eighth century A. D. The Prakrit employed in the work is believed to be later than the second century. This would give some idea as to the date of the poetesses whose stanzas have been incorporated in Hāla's *Sattasaī*.[1]

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[1] G. O. S. ed., p. 53.

[2] For an estimate of the poems in the *Therīgāthā*, cf. Winternitz, *Hist. Ind. Lit*, Vol. II, pp. 102 ff

Stanzas of the following poetesses are found in the *Sattasaī* (1) Anulakṣmī, (2) Asuladdhī, (3) Mādhavī, (4) Prahatā, (5) Revā, (6) Rohā, (7) S'aśiprabhā and (8) Baddhāvahī. But nothing is known about the works from which the stanzas are quoted. We are also quite ignorant as to the particular regions where the poetesses flourished.

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1. For the date and text of the work, cf. *Vikrama Volume*, ed. Mookerji, pp. 485-86, and also the Kāvyamālā ed. of the *Sattasaī*.

XV

Rājaśekhara adorned the courts of the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Mahendrapāla I (*c.* 885-908 A. D.), his son Mahīpāla I (*c.* 914-45 A. D.) and the Kalacuri king Yuvarāja I (first half of the tenth century). The active period of his life may therefore be assigned roughly to *circa* 890-940 A. D. An exceptionally accomplished woman named Avantisundarī, who was born in the Cāhamāna or Cauhān family, was the wife of Rājaśekhara. It has been suggested that Avantisundarī was the same as Sundarā, for whose benefit her brother Dhanapāla composed the Prakrit Dictionary entitled *Pāiyalacchī* in Vikrama Saṁvat 1029 (972-73 A. D.). But there is nothing to support this identification.[1]

Avantisundarī's views are thrice quoted by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*,[2] while his Prakrit drama entitled *Karpūramañjarī* is stated definitely to have been staged at her request.[3] Three of her Prakrit stanzas are quoted by Hemacandra (1088-1172 A. D.) in his *Deśīnāmamālā*[4] to illustrate the meanings of certain Prakrit expressions as used in the works of the poetess. These facts show beyond doubt that Avantisundarī was recognised as a rhetorician and poetess of outstanding merit. Unfortunately, none of her works has so far been discovered.

Some verses attributed to Rājaśekhara in Jalhaṇa's *Sūkti-*

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[1] For an account of Rājaśekhara's life, cf. introduction to the Harvard Or. Ser. ed. of the *Karpūramañjarī*, G. O. S. ed. of the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, etc.

[2] G. O. S. ed., pp. 20, 46, 57.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. xxxi.

[4] *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. VII, p. 64.

muktāvalī[1] (1258 A. D.) speak of the following poetesses : (1) Śīlā-bhaṭṭārikā, (2) Vikaṭanitambā, (3) Vijayāṅkā of Karṇāṭa (the Kannaḍa-speaking area), (4) Prabhudevī of Lāṭa (S. Gujarat) and (5) Subhadrā. Of these, the Karṇāṭī poetess Vijayāṅkā is described as Sarasvatī incarnate and as a peer of Kālidāsa in the Vaidarbhī style of composition. She is sometimes identified with the poetess Vijjā, otherwise called Vidyā (Vidyāvatī), Vijjakā, Bijjākā, etc., whose poems find a place in most of the Sanskrit anthologies. She is further identified with Vijaya-bhaṭṭārikā,queen of the Early Cālukya prince Candrāditya, who flourished about the middle of the seventh century A. D.

Śīlā-bhaṭṭārikā is placed by Rājaśekhara side by side with Bāṇa as having the merit of writing in a type of the Pāñcālī style of composition, in which sound and sense claim equal honour. This estimate is fully justified by her verses quoted in the anthologies. Her celebrated stanza *yaḥ kaumāra-haraḥ sa eva hi varaḥ*, etc., has been quoted by Ruyyaka in his *Alaṁkārasarvasva* (*c.* 1110 A. D.) and by the compiler of another anthology of about the same period.[2] According to the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (1363 A. D.), Śīlā-bhaṭṭārikā composed the verse *idam=anucitam=akramaś=ca puṁsām*, etc., in course of her play with Bhojarāja.[3] The expression *bhaṭṭārikā* attached to her name shows that Śīlā was a queen. This is no doubt supported by her reported association with Bhojarāja who was apparently a king. This Bhoja may be no other than the famous Gurjara-Pratihāra monarch of that name, who ruled from the city of Kanauj in *c.* 836 85 A. D. Thus Śīlā-bhaṭṭārikā was probably a queen of king

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[1] G. O. S. ed.

[2] See F. W. Thomas, *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*, p. 159.

[3] J. B. Chaudhuri, *Sanskrit Poetesses*, p. xxxiii.

Bhoja I of Kanauj. Many of her verses are found in the anthologies.

A number of Vikaṭanitambā's verses have been quoted in the anthologies. One of them is found in Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* composed in Kashmir about the middle of the ninth century.[1] Thus the poetess flourished in a period not later than the first half of that century. According to a tradition recorded in the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of Bhoja (1000-55 A. D.), the Paramāra king of Malwa, Vikaṭanitambā was a *punarbhū*, i. e. a widow who married a second time.[2] It is said that the husband (whether the first or the second one is not certain) of the highly qualified poetess was a big fool who wrongly pronounced *māṣa* for *māsa*, *māsa* for *māṣa*, *śakāśa* for *sakāśa* and *uṣṭa* or *uṭra* for *uṣṭra*. Although it is possible that the foolishness of the poor husband is considerably exaggerated in the account, it is not improbable that the poetess was really matched with an unworthy mate.

Nothing is known about the Lāṭī poetess Prabhudevī ; but a stanza of Subhadrā is quoted in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*, probably of the fifteenth century at least in its present form.

Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī* mentions Tribhuvanasarasvatī as the elder sister of Mahitalasarasvatī. This Tribhuvanasarasvatī may be the poetess of that name, two of whose stanzas have been quoted in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* compiled by Śrīdharadāsa in 1206 A. D. in Bengal.[3] A stanza of a poetess named Sītā, which is often found in the anthologies, is for the first time quoted by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*.[4] The poetesses Tribhuvanasarasvatī and Sītā therefore flourished before the middle of the tenth century; but no further information is available about them.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. xlv.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. xlvi.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. xxxv.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. xxxvi.

There are some other poetesses who are not specifically mentioned in the extant works of Rājaśekhara, though, from other available evidence, they appear to have flourished in a period earlier than the middle of the tenth century. Some of these poetesses will be discussed in the following section along with others who may have lived after the celebrated author of the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, *Karpūramañjarī* and other works.

XV

The *S'āṙṅgadharapaddhati* (1363 A. D.) quotes a verse from an earlier author of uncertain date named Dhanadadeva. This verse makes eloquent mention of the achievements of Śīlā, Vijjā, Mārulā, Morikā and others as poetesses of distinction. Of these, S'ilā seems to be no other than S'īlābhaṭṭārikā known to Rājaśekhara and already dealt with in the previous section. Vijjā (otherwise called Vidyā, Vidyākā, Vidyakā, Vijjakā, Vijjākā, Bijjā, Bijjakā and Bijjākā) is also known to have flourished before Rājaśekhara. One of her stanzas is found quoted in the *Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā* of Mukula who was the son of Kallaṭa, a contemporary of king Avantivarman (855-83 A. D.) of Kashmir. Her stanzas have been quoted in most of the anthologies from about the eleventh-twelfth century.[1]

The well-known verse :

nīl-otpala-dala-śyāmām Vijjākāṁ mām=ajānatā /
vṛth = aiva Daṇḍin= āpy = uktaṁ "sarva-śuklā Sarasvatī"//[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. xx, p. xxi and note.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 43, verse 103.

("Without knowning me, Vijjākā, dark like the petal of a blue lotus, vainly has Daṇḍin said that Sarasvatī is all-white") is attributed by some anthologies to the poetess herself, although some writers read *tām* (her) in place of *mām* (me) and assign it to a different author. Whoever may be the author of the verse in question, it shows that Vijjākā flourished after Daṇḍin who may be assigned to the seventh century A. D. Thus the poetess may be roughly placed in the eighth century. It is difficult to determine as to which part of India was adorned by the poetess, though, as noted above, there is some reason to think that she belonged to the south.

Of Mārulā and Morikā mentioned together with Śīlā and Vijjā by Dhanadadeva, little is known. But some of their stanzas are quoted in Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvalī* composed in 1258 A. D. It is therefore difficult to determine whether these two poetesses fall within the scope of our period.

An anthology of the eleventh-twelfth century[2] not only quotes some stanzas of Vidyā or Vijjā and Vikaṭanitambā, already discussed above, but also of another poetess named Bhāvadevī, otherwise called Bhāvakadevī or Bhāvākadevī. Her stanzas are similarly quoted in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*. But nothing further is known about her.

A poetess named Phalguhastinī flourished considerably before the eleventh century. Some of her stanzas are found in later anthologies like the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*; but a part of one of her stanzas is found quoted in the *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* of Vāmana who was a minister of king Jayāpīḍa (c. 779-813 A. D.) of Kashmir. Thus the poetess Phalguhastinī must have flourished before the end of the eighth century. But nothing more is known about her.[3]

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1. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-21, verses 44-49.
2. F. W. Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 (verse 177), 110 (verse 359).
3. Chaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. xxix-xxx.

The *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* (1206 A. D.) quotes a verse under the joint authorship of Caṇḍālavidyā, Vikramāditya and Kālidāsa, thus making a poetess named Caṇḍālavidyā a contemporary of Kālidāsa who flourished at the court of the Gupta Vikramādityas in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. In the present state of our knowledge, however, it is difficult to determine the genuineness of the tradition regarding the existence of a poetess of the above name in the age of the Imperial Guptas.

A verse assigned by some of the later anthologists to a poetess named Jaghanacapalā is found in anthologies from the eleventh-twelfth century without any reference to its author.[1] The fact that the stanza is composed in the Jaghanacapalā metre, however, suggests that the name of the poetess is a fabrication of later writers. The real author of the verse is unknown.

The *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (1363 A. D.) quotes two stanzas believed to be jointly composed by the poet Bilhaṇa and the *Rājakanyā* or princess otherwise known as Śaśikalā or Candrakalā.[2] Tradition refers to the romance between the princess and her father's court poet Bilhaṇa. Both the verses are in the form of a metrical conversation between the princess and her lover. It is interesting to note that one of the stanzas is found quoted in the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* of king Bhoja (1000-55 A. D.).[3] We know that the celebrated Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa left his motherland probably during the reign of king Kalaśa (1063-89 A. D.) and that he ultimately settled as the *Vidyāpati* at the court of the Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI (1076-1127 A. D.) of Kalyāṇa. He may have therefore been a later contemporary of king Bhoja.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. xv-xvi.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. xxx, note.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 31-32, verses 72-73.

Whether however there is really any truth in the tradition regarding Bilhaṇa's relation with a princess and whether the latter was a poetess are problems that can hardly be settled in the present state of our knowledge.

Verses of a poetess named Sarasvatī have been quoted in the anthologies beginning with the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (1206 A. D.). That however the poetess lived in an earlier age is indicated definitely by the quotation of one of her stanzas by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* about the middle of the eleventh century.[1]

According to some, a work entitled *Rājaśekharacarita* believed to be composed in the first quarter of the eleventh century, mentions certain poetesses named (1) Kāmalīlā, (2) Kanakavallī, (3) Lalitāṅgī, (4) Madhurāṅgī, (5) Sumandā and (6) Vimalāṅgī. Of these, Lalitāṅgī, Madhurāṅgī and Vimalāṅgī are said to have hailed from Malwa. But the similar formation of the names renders their existence extremely doubtful, especially in view of the fact that they are not known from any other source. We have doubts about the genuineness of the tradition ascribed to the *Rājaśekharacarita.*[2]

xvi

We have seen above how the critic Rājaśekhara regarded the poetesses Śīlā-bhaṭṭārikā and Vijayāṅkā as representing the types respectively of the Pāñcālī style together with Bāṇa and the Vaidarbhī style together with Kālidāsa. We have also seen how Vidyā or Vijjakā was regarded as the goddess of learning incarnate and how Avantisundarī's views as a rhetori-

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1. J. B. Chaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34, verses 75-76.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. lv-lvi.

cian and a poetess were quoted with respect by Rājaśekhara and Hemacandra. Unfortunately, the works of these poetesses, from which their stanzas have been quoted, are all lost, and it is impossible to judge from the meagre specimens the value of their contribution to literature.

It must be admitted that there is not much variety in the verses inasmuch as they are concerned in most cases with conventional erotic topics. But there are cases wherein we feel the tender and touching note of the heart of a woman.

A few verses of the poetesses may be quoted as specimens.

Yaḥ kaumāra-haraḥ sa eva hi varas=tā eva Caitra-kṣapās=
te c=onmīlita-mālatī-parimalāḥ prauḍhāḥ kadamb-ānilāḥ |
sā c=aiv=āsmi tath=āpi caurya-surata-vyāpāra-līlā-vidhau
Revā-rodhasi vetasī-taru-tale cetaḥ samutkaṭhate ||

(Śīlā-bhaṭṭārikā)

"This is the same husband who stole my maidenhood ; these are the same nights of Caitra ; those are the same breezes whispering in the Kadamba that is fragrant with the budding Mālatī ; I myself too am the same ; yet my heart yearns for the dalliance and the secret love that was ours under the *vetasī* on the bank of the Revā."

bhūpālāḥ śaśi-bhāskar-ānvaya-bhuvaḥ ke nāma n=āsāditā
bhartāraṁ punar=ekam=eva hi bhuvas=tvāṁ deva manyāmahe |
yen=Āṅgaṁ parimṛśya Kuntalam=ath=ākṛṣya vyudasy=āyataṁ
Colaṁ prāpya ca Madhyadeśam=adhunā Kāñcyāṁ karaḥ pātitaḥ || (Vijjā)

"Which kings of the families of the Sun and Moon have not been subjugated by you ? My lord, methinks you are alone the supreme lord of the world, as having seized Aṅga (or the body of your beloved), having then annexed Kuntala (or, seizing her hair), having overthrown the vast Cola country

(or, throwing off her garment) and having taken possession of the Midland country (or, her waist), you have now levied tribute from Kāñcī (or, stretched out your hand on her girdle)." It is a matter of regret that some scholars have tried to draw history out of the verse which only exhibits the author's knowlegde of the science of erotics.[1]

Vilāsa-masṛṇ-ollasan-musala-lola-doḥ-kandalī-
paraspara-pariskhalad-valaya-niḥsvan-odbanhurāḥ |
lasanti kala-huṅkṛti-prasabha-kampit-oraḥ-sthala-
truṭad-gamaka-saṅkulāḥ kalama-kaṇḍanī-gītayaḥ // (Vijjā)

"Victorious are the songs of rice-husking, which are sweetened by the jingling of bangles striking against one another in the tender sprout-like arms, smooth with beauty and moving with movements of the pestles, and which are accompanied by the deep notes bursting forth from the breasts heaving violently from the emission of inarticulate exclamations."

Dig-vadhū-vadana-cumbi c=erṣyayā
vīkṣya sa-dyuti-divā bhavad-yaśaḥ /
darśitaḥ pṛthu-payodhar-odgamas=
tena s=āpi parirabhyate='khilā //

(Vikaṭanitambā)

"Seeing your Fame, oh King, kissing the face of Dame Horizon, the jealous lady Sky, full of lustre, amassed dense clouds (to hide the face of her rival; or, showed her own breasts to attract Fame to herself); consequently she herself was fully embraced by him."

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[1] Cf. R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 121, which ascribes the stanza to Mayūra-bhaṭṭa.

xvii

There are some traditions, recorded or floating, regarding the existence of women scholars in different parts of India. But, in most cases, they are not only unsupported by any evidence worth the name, but are often opposed to known facts of history.

The celebrated astronomer and mathematician Bhāskara flourished in Maharashtra in the 12th-13th century. This is known from the fact that his grandson, named Caṅgadeva, founded a school for the study of Bhāskara's works early in the 13th century under the patronage of the Yādava kings of Devagiri.[1] One of the famous mathematical works of Bhāskara is the *Līlāvatī*. There is a tradition that this work was actually composed by a widowed daughter of Bhāskara, whose name was Līlāvatī. We have also a story how Bhāskara failed to determine the auspicious moment for the celebration of his daughter's marriage owing to a defect in the *ghaṭīyantra* (an instrument for measuring time), caused by a small stone that had fallen into it from an ornament worn by Līlāvatī. It is not unlikely that Bhāskara had a daughter named Līlāvatī who was a keen student of mathematics and astronomy; but their is certainly no reason to believe that Bhāskara was not the author of the *Līlāvatī*. The tradition regarding the authorship of the work has apparently developed out of the fact that the problems set in the *Līlāvatī* are addressed to a girl, often by expressions like *aye bāle Līlāvati* (O young Līlāvatī), although Bhāskara may have actually written the book for teaching the subject to his own daughter.

In Bengal, there are a large number of popular sayings that are attributed to a female astrologer named Khanā. These sayings are in old Bengali and relate to astronomy and astrology, often with special reference to agriculture. Tradition has it that Khanā was the wife of an astronomer named Mihira who was the son of another famous astronomer named Varāha. This tradition is apparently fabricated on the basis of the name of the celebrated ancient Indian astronomer Varāhamihira who flourished in the sixth century A.D., but had hardly anything to do with Bengal. There may have flourished in ancient Bengal a renowned female astronomer named Khanā ; but, more probably, the name is febricated from Skt. *Kṣaṇada* = Pkt. *Khaṇaa*, 'an astrologer.'[1]

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[1] *Bomb. Gaz*, Vol, I, Part ii, pp. 244, 526.

In the traditions that have grown round the illustrious name of Śaṅkarācārya, who was a Nambūdri Brāhmaṇa of Malabar and is usually believed to have flourished in the ninth century A.D , there is a story about a great woman philosopher of Mithilā, named Ubhayabhāratī. It is said that in the course of his *dig-vijaya* (i.e. conquest of the scholars of different parts of the country) in philosophical discourses, Śaṅkara reached Mithilā where he was engaged in a Sāstric dispute with a great local philosopher named Maṇḍana-miśra who was the husband of Ubhayabhāratī. According to tradition, in the dispute referred to above, Maṇḍana-miśra was defeated by Śaṅkara ; but his victory was regarded as incomplete since he failed to accept .Ubhayabhāratī's challege to a discourse on the Kāma-śāstra (Erotics). Later, however, Śaṅkara is said to have succeeded in defeating Ubhayabhāartī in a debate and both the husband and the wife were compelled to become followers of the great philosopher. It is difficult to determine the genuineness of the legends regarding Ubhayabhāratī and similar other traditions about various female scholars believed to have flourished in different parts of India.

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[1] See *Prāgjyotiṣa* (A.-I. Or. Conf. Souvenir), Gauhati, 1965, pp. 24ff,

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page 10, line 22.—Read—*gauḍa*
” 11, line 10, 14 and 25.—Read—*Arthaśāstra*
” ” note 1.—*Add*—Of Ariṣṭapura and Gauḍapura jointly referred to in the *sūtra*, the former is known to have been the capital of the Śivi kingdom (Malalasekera, *DPPN*, s. v. Siviraṭṭha) in the Jhang District of West Pakistan.
” 16, line 17.—*Read*—published in
” 18, line 14.—Read—*kṛtā* for *kṛta*
” 23, lines 13-14.—*Read*—son of Tuṅga, the grandson of Yogeśvara and the great-grandson of Vivada
” 26, line 22.—*Read*—Śaka
” 28, line 19.—*Read*—Śrīparvata
” 29, note 4.—*Add*—The Kāyasthas claim that the Senas were merged in the Kāyastha community.
” 30, line 2.—*Read*—The importation of the legend
” 37, line 8,—Read—*saṅkīrṇa-yoni*
” 38, line 6.—*Read*—Śiva
” 44, note 2, line 4.—Read— *Kāmbojānāṁ*
” ” note 3, line 2.—Read—*ca viśāṁpate*
” 46, line 9.—*Read*—Kṛṣṇa
” 48, line 22.—*Read*—there were only
” ” note 1.—*Add*—See below, pp. 102-03.
” ” note 4.—*Add*—The *Gautama Dharmasūtra* (IV. 21) regards the Yavanas as sprung from the Śūdra female and the Kṣatriya male. See *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 240; below, p. 214, note 2; p. 131, note 3.

” 49, line 4.—*Read*—Śūdra
” ” line 6.—*Read*—Śakas
” 50, note 1.—*Add*—For the long hair of the Indians, see I.C. Ghosh, *Jātaka* (Bengali), Vol. VI. p. 235 and note.
” 51, line 8.—*Add*—According to the *Mahābhārata* (I. 85. 34; cf. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 34. 30), the Yādavas, Yavanas, Bhojas and Mlecchas descended respectively from Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu and Anu, the four discarded sons of king Yayāti of the lunar race.
” 58, line 9.—*Read*—Śakas
” 60, line 2.—*Read*—Śaka
” ” line 5.—*Read*—Śakas

” ” line 21.—*Read*—Plenipotentiary
” 63, line 8.—*Read*—Yavāana-Saka
” 70, line 10.—*Read*—inscription (*Sel. Ins.*, 1st ed., p. 197)
” 72, line 9.—*Read*—Viśākhadatta (6th century A.D.)
” ” line 13.—*Read*—Varāhamihira (6th century A.D.)
” 72, note 1, line 1.—*Read*—See Raychaudhuri, *EHVS*, p. 28. note 4.
” 75, line 7.—*Read*—Rāṣṭrakūṭa
Page 75, line 12.—*Read*—Śaka
” ” line 33.—*Add*—son Buddha, his
” 76. note 1, 12.—Read—*excellence*
” 79, line 24.—*Read*—Haṁhyamana
” 81, line 3.—Read—*cāṭabhaṭa*
” 92. line 24.—*Read*—in this
” ” line 30.—*Read*—himself
” 98, top.—*Read*—CHAPTER VI
” 101, line 13.—*Read*—Brahmanical
” 109, line 19.—Read—*Manusmṛiti*
” ” note 1.—*Add*—It is interesting to note that, in the second century A. D., Ptolemy's *Geography* (VII. 1. 67) places the Ambastai (Ambaṣṭha) in the south close to the land of the Bettigoi who received their name from Mt. Bettigo or the Malaya range, as well as to the river Nanagauna which flew through the southern part of Ariake of the Pirates (i.e. the Southern Konkan).
” 113. lines 11-12.—*For*—'The *Sūtasaṁhitā*.....a late fabrication', *read*— 'The *Sūtasaṁhitā* tradition is apparently based on the fact, that according to Gautama as interpreted by Haradatta, the Ambaṣṭha was the offspring of the Kṣatriya from the Vaiśya woman, who is called Māhiṣya by some authorities. See Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 131, note 2'.
” 114, note 3.—*Add*—In his *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Vol. II, pp. 460-61, R. C. Hazra argues that the *Bṛhaddharma* Purāṇa was composed before 1450 A.D., probably in the latter half of the 13th century.
” 118, lines 15-17.—*For*—'The Ambaṣṭha association .....the Vaidyas', *read*—See below, p. 131 and note 2.
” 120. note 1. line 3.—*Read*—Vaidyāmbaṣṭha
” 122, note 1, line 2.—*Read*—Daśārṇa, i.e., the

" 123, lines 4 and 15.—*Read*—Kṛṣṇā
" 126, line 11.—*Read*—Māgadha
" 148, note 1, line 3.—*Read*—Ballia
" 157, lines 17 and 19.—*Read*—Śūdra
" 158, line 4.—*Read*—the Cāraṇa or Vaitālika who sings
" 159, line 32.—Read—*lekhakaś*=ca
" 160, line 2.—Read—*gaṇaka-lekhaka*
" " line 4.—Read—*āya-vyaye*
" " line 16.—*Read*—a writer of documents
" 169, note lines 2-3.—*Read*—logically
" 174, top.—*Read*—CHAPTER X
" 176, lines 27-28.—*Read*—before it was taken to be sacrificed. Jātaka No. 538 describes a royal palace being adorned with *pañcāṅgulika.*

Page 183—*Add*—We have referred above (p. 179) to thousands of inscribed and uninscribed hero stones discovered in Southern and Western India. The inscriptions they bear generally record the death of a hero while fighting on the battle-field. The largest number of such epigraphs, however, speak of a hero dying in a fight with the cattle-lifters and the earliest inscription of this kind is not later than the third century A.D.

A stone pillar bearing a Prakrit inscription in Middle Brāhmī characters of about the third century A. D. was discovered at the village of Gangaperuru in the Siddhavattam Taluk of the Cuddappah District of Andhra Pradesh. The inscription has been recently published by P. R. Srinivasan in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol.XXXVI, pp. 207-08 and Plate. We are inclined to read and interpret the record somewhat differently.

According to Srinivasan, the inscribed pillar was a *Chāyā-stambha* ((i.e. a pillar bearing the representation of the person in whose memory it was raised) which was the memorial of a person named Gona. He thinks that this person was the son of an *Ācārya* (whose name is imperfectly preserved) and died in a cattle-lifting operation, the cattle probably belonging to a person named Śivadāsa. Srinivasan further says that the filial relationship between Gona and the *Ācārya,* as indicated in the inscription, should not be taken literally and that Gona may have really been a devout pupil and not the son of the *Ācārya.* We are also told, "It is possible that he (Gona) received from the latter (the *Ācārya*) the *dīkṣā* (initiation) so as to succeed to the spiritual preceptorship. Gona is given the epithet *sudasa* which may be taken to mean 'handsome' (Sanskrit *sudarśana*) ......" These views are, in our opinion, based on a wrong reading of the inscription.

What has been read by Srinivasan in lines 2-3 of the Gangaperuru inscription as *sudasa-Gonasa Sivadāsa-gogahane sagāme* (Sanskrit *sudarśana-Gonasya Śivadāsa-gograhaṇe saṅgrāme*) seems to us to read *Bharada(ya*)-sagotasa Sivadāsa(sa*) go-gahaṇa-sagāme* (Sanskrit *Bhāradvāja-sagotrasya Śivadāsasya go-grahaṇa-saṅgrāme*). The second letter in the personal name read as *Gona* is a looped type of *ta* which resembles the unlooped *ta* in *putasa* in line 1, but is quite different from *na* (with a slightly curved lower limb) in *ācariyanam* in the same line; cf. also the slightly curved base stroke of *ṇa* at the end of line 2, which Srinivasan reads as *ne*. Thus, in our opinion, the memorial pillar was raised in honour not of Gona, but of Śivadāsa who died in fighting with the cattle-lifters. There is thus no mention of any person named Gona in the record.

In line 1 of the inscription, Srinivasan reads [.] [*u*] *ra-ācariyanam putasa* which is taken by him to refer to the disciple (not son) of the *Ācārya*. This interpretation is not satisfactory considering the plural number in the word *ācariyanam*. Again, what has been read as [.][*u*]*ra* looks like [.] [*ra*]ra. In any case, one may be tempted to suggest *Perara-ācariyanam putasa*, so that the person in whose memory the pillar was raised might be taken to have been a scion of the *Ācārya* family of Perara, i.e. modern Gangaperuru, the findspot of the inscription under study. But it seems to us that Srinivasan has ignored the traces of a few *akṣaras* incised below the concluding part in line 3 of the inscription. These letters are damaged, though two of them can possibly be recognised as *ṭhavi*. If, thus, there was a word like *ṭhavito* (Sanskrit *sthāpitaḥ*) at the end of the record, the word read at the end of line 1 as *ācariyanaṁ* should really be *ācariyana* (Sanskrit *ācāryeṇa*).

We are inclined to read the Prakrit text of the Gangaperuru Brāhmī inscription and to interpret it as follows:

Text

1 [.] [ra]ra-ācariyana putasa
2 Bharada(ya*)-sagotasa Sivadāsa(sa*) go-gahaṇa-
3 sagāme saga-ga[tasa] chaya-kha[bho]
4 [ṭhavi][.] (//*)

Text Sanskritised

[.]rar-ācāryeṇa putrasya Bhāradvāja-sagotrasya Śivadāsasya go-grahaṇa-saṅgrāme svarga-gatasya chāyā-stambhaḥ sthāpitaḥ//

Translation

This figure-bearing [memorial] pillar has been raised by *Ācārya* [.]rara for [his] son Śivadāsa of the Bhāradvāja-gotra, who has gone to heaven in [the course of] fighting in [connection with] cattle-lifting.

Page 209, line 9—*Read*—Candragupta II
" 222, line 2.—*Read*—century; see also Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 284ff., for documents called *Gaurīvarāṭikā-patra* recording the sale of young slave girls for marriage as prevalent in Mithilā.
" 223, line 28.—*Read*—Ballia
" 245, line 23.—*Read*—failed her
" 257, line 11.—*Read*—xvi
" " line 15.—*Read*—Śīlā
" 260, line 22.—*Read*—xvii
" 263, line 1.—*Read*—xviii

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